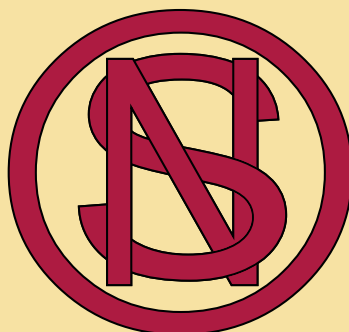


Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society

Spring 2023
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Welcome to another edition of *JONS*. After our special issue, number 250 with papers from the 50th anniversary conference, we are returning to a more usual form of content, with a good range of papers.

A review of the Society's financial situation has shown that as a result of rising costs we must for the time being be satisfied with smaller journals than the bumper issue 250. We shall continue to produce four journals a year, to be published in March, June, September and December, and keep to 32 pages per issue, rather than having variable-length issues that are less economical to produce. You will see that we have reduced the weight of the cover and that we are not using a plastic laminate. This is an environmentally friendly move and has a small effect on distribution costs. At present the cost of colour printing is not prohibitive, so we shall continue to enjoy it.

After much discussion the Editorial Board decided that issue 251 marked something of a new beginning, and so Linda Crook, a renowned artist well known for her art medals, was commissioned to design a new monogram for the Society, which you can see in this issue. We have made some adjustments to the design and layout of the journal and its cover as well, which we hope you will like.

In terms of content, we are reviewing articles more systematically now, so that we can maintain a consistent level of content. The excellent advisory panel that we have assembled, listed on the inside cover of the journal, provides great expertise across our subject.

One question that keeps being asked is whether the Society will obtain Digital Object Identifiers (DOIs) for articles in the journal. These facilitate finding and citing articles on the internet, especially via organizations such as Crossref, and are part of the recognition system used by journal indices (Scopus, Web of Science, etc.). Inclusion in these lists is recognized as significant by many Higher Education institutions, especially in Europe and Asia, but the DOI itself does not guarantee inclusion, and there are potentially costs and commitments that in the view of the Editorial Board outweigh the benefits for members. However, the question will be kept under review.

Please do keep sending your submissions in for the journal. While I cannot always reply to emails straightaway, do please be assured that I definitely read everything and deal with the papers as quickly as I can.

Paula Turner
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A Yaudheya coin of the bull/elephant type with a new legend

Devendra Handa

Abstract The Yaudheyas were one of the prominent republican tribes of ancient India who were settled at and around modern Rohtak in Haryana when they started issuing copper coins of bull/elephant type from about the middle of the second century BCE bearing the Brāhmī legend *yaudheyānām bahudhāñake* on the obverse. These coins have been found from various places at and around Rohtak. Under Śaka-Kushan pressure in the first century BCE/CE they shifted to the Garhwal region of present-day Uttarakhand and dedicated their state to their tutelary war god Kārttikeya and issued coins of six-headed Kārttikeya/Shashthī and Kārttikeya/deer types in his name. When Kushan power weakened in the third century CE they descended to the plains and occupied a much larger area and started issuing coins proclaiming victory of the tribe (*yaudheya-ganasya jaya*) with the figures of Kārttikeya on the obverse and his spouse Devasenā on the reverse. On their bull/elephant type coins a variant legend read as *yaudheyānām bhūmadhāñake* on a single specimen had been witnessed. In the present article is published a coin of this type bearing the legend tentatively deciphered as *yaudheyānām himadhāñake* and its probable implication.

number of coins, as well as for having been remembered for a long period in history. Though only one specimen each of gold (Handa 2011 19–21) and silver (Cunningham 1882, 143; 1891, 79, pl. 6.9) is known, they issued copious copper currency of various types at and around Rohtak (Haryana) during second to first century BCE (figure 1).

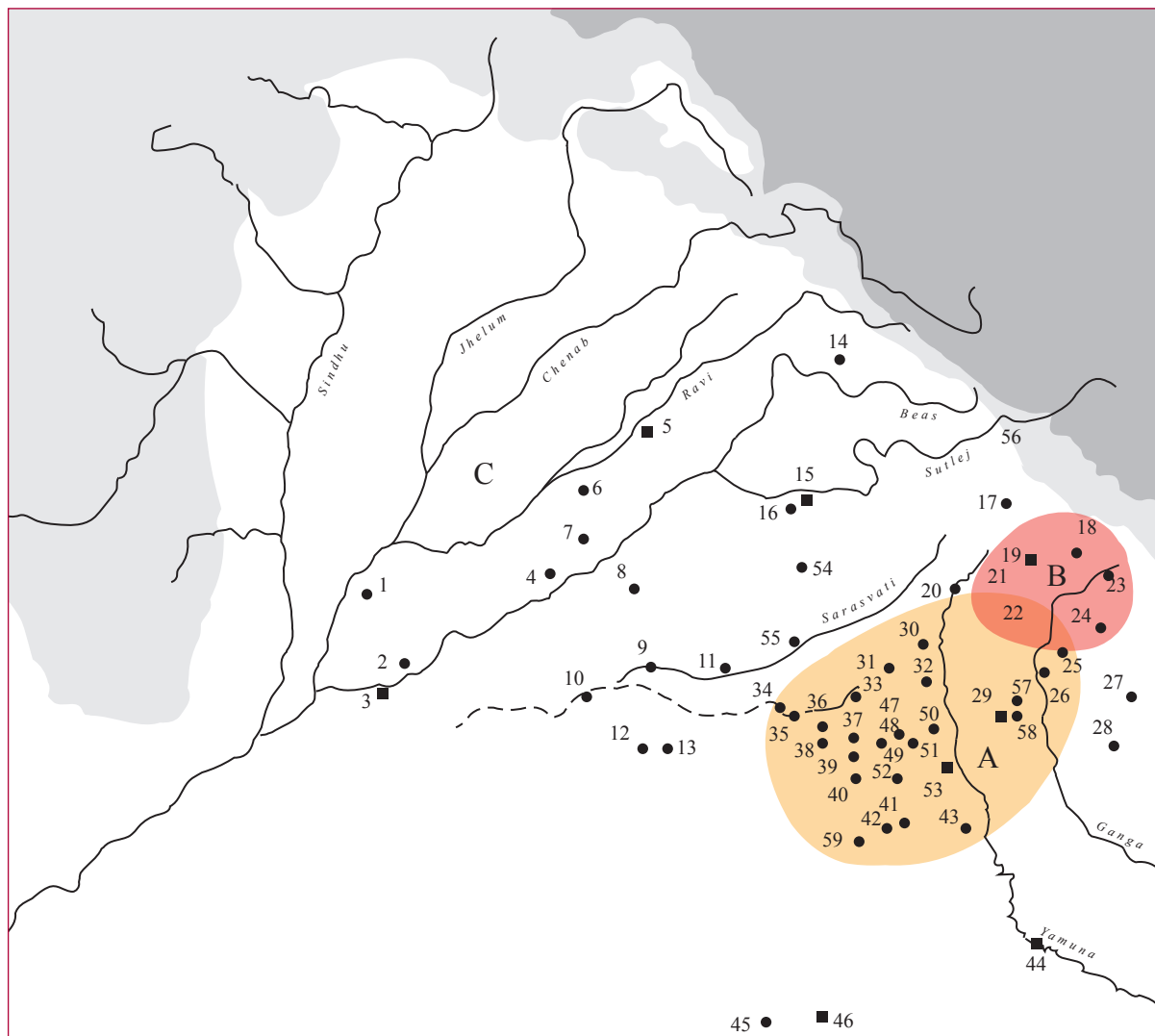
The types were

- the bull-elephant type with the legend *yaudheyānām bahudhāñake* (area A on the map)
- the six-headed Kārttikeya/Shashthī and Kārttikeya/deer type in the Garhwal region (with divergent legends, area B in the map) where they had to shift for safer refuge under Śaka-Kushan supremacy during first to second centuries CE
- the single-headed Kārttikeya/Devasenā type with the legend *yaudheya-ganasya Jaya* (area C in the map) when they occupied a very extensive area after the retreat of the Kushans to the Peshawar region during the third and fourth centuries CE.¹

Their earliest definitely attributable coins datable to around the second to first century BCE come from Rohtak and the area

Among the ancient Indian republican tribes the Yaudheyas occupy a prominent position for having issued the largest

¹ Allan 1936, cxlvii–cliii, 265–8, pls 39.5–22 and 40.1–15; Handa 2007, 149–217, pls 38–73).



1 Multan	13 Dhanasia	25 Najibabad	37 Meham	49 Bhalout
2 Kahrar	14 Kangra	26 Bijnor	38 Tosam	50 Sonapat
3 Bahawalpur	15 Ludhiana	27 Kashipur	39 Naurangabad	51 Kharkhauda
4 Ajudhan	16 Sunet	28 Muradabad	40 Dadri	52 Jhajjar
5 Lahor	17 Panjya	29 Meerut	41 Jasat	53 Delhi
6 Satgarha	18 Tehri	30 Karnal	42 Rewari	54 Sunam
7 Dibalpur	19 Dehradun	31 Asandh	43 Baghla	55 Moonak
8 Abohar	20 Jagadhri	32 Panipat	44 Agra	56 Kotgarh
9 Bhatner	21 Behat	33 Jind	45 Sambhar	57 Hastinapura
10 Rangmahal	22 Saharanpur	34 Agroha	46 Jaipur	58 Karauli
11 Sirsa	23 Srinagar	35 Hisar	47 Jaijivanti	59 Patanshahr
12 Pallu	24 Lansdowne	36 Hansi	48 Rohtak	(Tyaunda)

Figure 1 Distribution of Yaudheya coins. Area A is class 2, Yaudheyānām Bahudhāñake type; area B is class 3, six-headed Kārttikeya type; area C is class 6, Yaudheya Gaṇasya Jaya type (Handa 2007, 161).

around. They depict a humped bull before a sacrificial post in railing with Brāhmī legend *yo(yau)dheyānām/bahudhāñake* (coin of the Yaudheyas of Bahudhānyaka, 'the land of plenty corn') above and below the animal on the obverse and an elephant with *nandipada* and a pennon or flag-like symbol above on the reverse. Though the commonest variety shows both animals to right examples of the two animals facing to both left and right are known (figure 2).

The Gurukula Museum in Jhajjar (Haryana) possesses a coin of this type (figure 3) having the usual reverse but showing on the obverse bull trotting to right with the Brāhmī

legend below which has tentatively been deciphered as [*yaudheyānām*] *bhūmadhāñake* (the word *bhūma* standing for *bahu* meaning abundant) (Handa 2007, 166, pl. 38.11).

Another coin of this type (2.83 g, 17 mm) has come to my notice which is much better preserved (figure 4).

It shows the bull walking to right towards the sacrificial post. Even the rope binding it to the post is visible. The upper parts of the letters forming the word *yaudheyānām* are truncated and the vowel marks are completely lost. The lower portion of the first syllable of the second word under the bull from 8 to 5 o'clock position is also truncated and out of flan.



Figure 2 Bull/elephant coin-types (Handa 2007, plate 39)

The die-cutter seems to have missed the letter *ñā* between *dha* and *ke* and tried to crouch and thrust it later by adjusting it between them. The reverse is perhaps the best preserved one of all specimens known so far and shows the elephant walking to right with trunk raised forward. A three-arched *chaitya* or hill symbol with pellets in the arches is depicted on the right towards which the elephant is stepping. A double-lined track is carved below. Above the back of the elephant may be seen a symbol with two small arches at the ends and an arrow rising above from the middle of the base line. The vertical shaft of the banner at the back of the elephant has lost its upper end.

It is difficult to decipher the first syllable under the bull on the obverse making it uncertain to restore the complete word with definiteness. To me it seems to be the syllable *sī* or *hi*. If it be so, the word may be read as *sīma-dhāñake* or *hima-dhāñake* which substitutes *bahudhāñake*. *Sīma* means 'border', so *sīma-dhāñake* would stand for the territory of the border-land where corn was grown. It does not seem to be logical that the Yaudheyas issued coins for use in the border-land only. I therefore prefer to read the legend in the exergue as *himadhāñake*. But *himadhāñake* too presents the difficulty of explanation. The Sanskrit word *hima* means snow and *dhānya* means corn. If *himadhāñake* stands for the territory of snowy corn or abundant snow it would point to the Yaudheyas occupying some part of the snowy hills beyond Dehradun in Uttarakhand. The Yaudheyas with their metropolises at



Figure 3 Bull/elephant type coin (courtesy Jhajjar Museum)



Figure 4 Bull/elephant type coin with a new legend (courtesy Vaibhav Aggarwal)

Rohtak and Naurangabad issued Bull-Elephant type coins which have mostly been found from the area of central and southern Haryana bordering Rajasthan in the southwest and extending towards the northeast to Bijnor and Najibabad in the foot hills of Uttarakhand. When pressed by alien forces during the latter half of first century BCE they made their way to the hilly region of Garhwal for safer refuge and may have issued such coins for a very brief period which would account for the extreme rarity of this specie. When they got established in the Garhwal region they started issuing six-headed Kārttikeya/Shashthī and Kārttikeya/deer types in the name of their tutelary deity, the war god Shanmukha (Kārttikeya), which chronologically follow Bull-Elephant type and have been found mainly from the Garhwal region. However, future discoveries and specimens with clearly decipherable legends and definite provenance will enlighten us to be more certain on this issue.

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A gold parcel hoard of Kanishka I from Skhakot, Malakand District near Peshawar, Pakistan

Gul Rahim Khan

Abstract A large hoard of possibly 800 coins, of which 180 were gold, was found in Malakand District near Peshawar, Pakistan, in 2011. A group of 40 gold coins from it has formed the basis of a die-link study that has significantly increased the number of known dies. This paper is a detailed discussion of the types within the hoard and how the obverse and reverse types relate to each other. An illustrated catalogue of the 40 coins is appended.

A hoard of the Kushan period containing more than 800 coins was found in a small village known as Sakhawat Kalay near Skhakot in Dargai region, Malakand District (formerly Malakand Agency) in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. Dargai is located on the north-west border of Mardan district, the core heartland of Gandhara. This hoard was discovered by local people when they were levelling low terraces for agricultural fields in spring 2011. The hoard was buried in an earthenware pot which was hit by a tractor blade during this work. According to local people it contained 180 gold coins, the rest being copper. The treasure was sold to a local goldsmith who sold it on to jewellers in the *Sarafa* (jewellery) market in Peshawar. There, the gold coins of the hoard were purchased by a coin collector, the late Faysal Afridi. Of these, photographs of 40 specimens of gold coins were provided by his younger brother to me for study, research and publication purposes. I kept these photographs, rather neglected owing to the poor quality of the photographs and the condition of the coins, for more than ten years. I postponed my research on them in the hope of getting better-quality photographs of the available coins of the hoard. I am now, however, taking the opportunity to publish a preliminary report of them in memory of Faysal Afridi, who passed away suddenly at a young age a few months ago. A detailed report of the hoard will be published jointly with the owners if good quality photographs and other data about the remaining coins become available.

This parcel of 40 coins from a larger hoard is very interesting in many respects. It comprises a large number of gold coins of a single mint of one regime reported from an identifiable place. The coins in the group belong to the reign of Kanishka I, the Great, the fourth king of the Kushan dynasty who succeeded Wima Kadphises, beginning his reign in about 127 CE and ruling until about 151 CE (Falk 2001 and 2004). All the coins seem to be of the standard dinar unit which was usually struck at 8.0 grams, though the individual weights of the coins were not recorded. The coins all belong to the second phase (A2) of the third emission of Kanishka I's coinage issued from his main gold mint located at Balkh (Afghanistan) identified by Göbl (1984). It is a common series. Gold quarter dinars of Kanishka I are generally not very common, and from this emission are extremely rare, so it is not surprising that the coins are all dinars. A preliminary die-link study of the coins was carried out in order to understand the relationship of obverse designs with the combination of reverse figures

issued from the same time at the same mint. The information supplements the die-link study of Kushan coinage carried out by Göbl in 1984. The hoard contents and its find place yield useful evidence regarding production at the main mint and its periodization and also of the circulation of this series of coins in the heartland (Gandhara) of the Kushan empire. The gold coins of Huvishka and other rulers of the Kushans are well reported from many coin hoards such as found at Dabro Dammo (Mordini 1967), Tehri-Garhwal (Srivastava, 1975), Topi (Burns and Mirza, 1990), Harchandpur (Srivastava, 1980), Delhupur (Srivastava, 1990), Sargodha (Mitterwallner, 1994) etc., but the substantial number of Kanishka gold in the present parcel seems to be a remarkable discovery of its kind recovered from the Gandhara region. Robert Bracey and Joe Cribb have shared with me details of the known gold and copper hoards of Kanishka I found inside and outside south Asia but the number of gold coins in this parcel noticeably exceeds those reported so far.

Coin designs

The obverse design of all the coins is uniform, portraying the standing figure of king at an altar facing front with the head in profile to the left. On his head the king has a rounded crown ornamented with a wavy band on its side, a broad laddered brim and surmounted by a three-pronged crest element. He wears a large kaftan, with a cloak over his shoulders, loose leggings. He holds an elephant goad in his right hand extended over an altar in the left field and a long spear in his raised left hand. There is a long sword fastened at his waist projecting away from his body and touching or crossing the shaft of his spear in the right field. The Bactrian legend is inscribed in a standard format, $\text{PAONANOPAO KA-NHPKI KOPANO}$ begins at 7 o'clock (Jongeward and Cribb 2015 68–70). The reverse designs show six deities, namely Manaobago (2 specimens), Mao (12), Miuro (4), Nanashao (5), Oesho (9) and Orlagno (8).

The obverse and reverse types place all 40 coins in the third emission of Kanishka I's gold coinage. Two deities, Lrooaspo and Mozdooano, are included in the same group by Göbl but these are absent from the parcel photographed and it is not known whether they occurred among the rest of the hoard. Note, however, that coins portraying figures of Lrooaspo and Mozdooano are not usually common.

Göbl's die-link study

Göbl further classified the gold assemblage of the third emission (die series III) into four phases, A1, A2, A3 and B. According to this arrangement, he identified 34 obverse dies for the production of gold coins in the third emission. Of these, four obverse dies were used in phase A1, 23 (actually 24 as will be seen) in phase A2, one in phase A3 and six in phase B. The obverse die numbers prefixed III., the reverse die numbers (e.g. 1.18, etc.) and the coin numbers are Göbl's.

The 40 coins in the present hoard parcel have been produced from 17 obverse dies. Of these 16 match with those

reported by Göbl, but he misidentified an obverse die no. III.15 for coin 56.3 which had reverse die no. 1.18A bearing the figure of Miïro. This particular die was checked against all known examples recorded by Göbl but found to be different from all of them, including obverse die III.15 used on coins 60.4 (Nanashao) and 61.3 (Mozdooano). The new obverse die has been called III.15n.

According to Göbl's analysis, four reverse designs of phase A1 of the third emission were made with four obverse dies. The production of this phase is limited. In the following phase, A2, of the third emission, eight reverse designs were produced with 23 (actually 24) obverse dies.

Of these obverse dies (24), seven examples were known to have been coupled with a single specimen of many reverse dies. According to this attribution, the reverse designs of Manaobago (III.12–13), Oesho (III.21, III.23) and Orlagno (III.25–26) each shown in a pair appeared with individual obverse dies. In one case, the reverse design of Nanashao (III.4a) is executed separately with a single example of obverse die.

The remaining obverse dies have been coupled with multiple reverse figures. In many cases obverse dies were each struck with a pair of reverses, e.g.

- III.4 with Miïro (no. 1.18) and Orlagno (no. 1.4)
- III.6A with Lrooaspo (no. 1.2) and Nanashao (no. 1.18B)
- III.9 with Mao (no. 1.13) and Manaobago (no. 1.1)
- III.16 with Nanashao (no. 1.19) and Orlagno (no. 1.13)
- III.20 with Nanashao (no. 1.21B) and Oesho (no. 4.33).

Besides this, two obverse dies were used as a pair of multiple reverses such as

- III.22 with Miïro (no. 1.18D) and Oesho (nos 4.31, 4.36, 4.31A)
- III.27 with Oesho (no. 4.30) and Orlagno (nos 1.10, 1.11, 1.12).

Six examples of obverse dies carry a set of three different reverses

- III.10 with Mao (no. 1.14), Nanashao (no. 1.22) and Orlagno (no. 1.1)
- III.14 with Mozdooano (no. 1.1), Nanashao (no. 1.17) and Oesho (no. 4.32)
- III.15 with Miïro (no. 1.18A [wrongly identified]), Mozdooano (no. 1.1) and Nanashao (no. 1.18)
- III.17 with Nanashao (no. 1.20), Oesho (no. 1.31) and Orlagno (no. 1.3)
- III.18 with Miïro (no. 1.18B), Nanashao (no. 1.21) and Orlagno (no. 1.4)
- III.20a with Nanashao (no. 1.21A), Oesho (no. 1.34) and Orlagno (no. 1.5).

Obverse die III.15 found with the reverse of Miïro (no. 1.18A) is actually a different die, which is here designated as III.15n.

These examples have two obverse dies with four each multiple reverses such as

- III.3 with Mao (no. 1.10), Miïro (nos 1.17, 1.18C), Nanashao (no. 1.1) and Oesho (no. 1.25)
- III.24 with Lrooaspo (no. 1.2), Nanashao (no. 1.21C), Oesho (no. 1.39) and Orlagno (nos 1.6, 1.7).

The obverse die III.8 is found with five reverse designs, Lrooaspo (no. 1.1), Mao (no. 1.12), Mozdooano (no. 1.1), Oesho (nos 4.15, 4.31A) and Orlagno (no. 1.2) (table 1a and Göbl 1984, table 28). Hence, the obverse die III.8 in combination with five reverse dies was the most frequently used die used in this phase of gold production of Kanishka I.

Die-links study of the hoard parcel coins

The die link study of the hoard parcel identified 16 new reverse dies designated by a temporary serial number with addition of Roman letter N (stands for new).

On the basis of the obverse and reverse combinations of designs, the gold coins in the hoard parcel are assigned to the production of the first two phases (A1 and A2) of the third emission of Kanishka I. In this classification, five coins belong to phase A1 and 35 to phase A2. According to the die-link study, three obverse dies (III.1, 6 and 11) of the parcel hoard occur in phase A1 and the remaining 14 obverse dies (III.4, 6A, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 15n, 20, 22, 24–27) in phase A2.

Similarly, four reverse dies, two each of Nanashao (1 N1, 1 N2) and Oesho (4 N1, 4 N4) are assigned to phase A1 and the remaining 27 to phase A2. Among the reverse dies, 15 dies are identical with those marked by Göbl on coins for each deity while 16 dies are new and appear for the respective deities (see table 1b). Due to two different patterns of number, the reverse deities are usually cited here by their catalogue numbers which should not be confused with the reverse die numbers adopted by Göbl's in his catalogue.

In phase A1, one obverse die (III.1) is coupled with a single reverse die (Oesho, no. 32). The remaining two obverse dies (III.6 and 11) carry one each multiple reverse dies as Nanashao design is known by two examples of different reverse dies (nos 22–23) and Oesho also by two specimens (nos 28–29) of a single reverse die (4 N1).

Implications of the die-link study

The die-link study of phase A2 of the third emission of the parcel hoard presents some interesting information about the use of obverse dies in the production of Kanishka I's gold dinars.

- III.12, 15n, 6A, 25 and 26 have five separate reverse dies of three reverses such as Manaobago (no. 2), Miïro (no. 18) and Orlagno (nos 38, 39 and 40) respectively.
- III.4 corresponds with two different reverse dies of a single reverse design Mao (nos 5–6).

The remaining eight obverse dies are known with the combination of multiple reverse designs. Of these, three obverse dies (III.8, 20 and 24) are equally struck with three pairs of different reverse deities:

- III.8 is known for individual reverse dies of Manaobago (no. 1) and Orlagno (no. 36),
- III.20 for individual reverse dies of Mao (no. 11) and Miïro (no. 15)

III.24 also for individual reverse dies of Miuro (no. 16) and Nanashao (no. 20).

Other combinations are

III.9 is found with a pair of reverses, i.e. two coins of the same reverse die of Mao (nos 3–4) and one reverse die of Orlagno (no. 37)

III.22 produced three coins of a single reverse die of Mao (nos 7–9) and four coins of a single reverse die of Oesho (nos 24–27). Thus, the obverse die was applied with a pair of reverse designs.

III.27 produced two coins of Mao (nos 13–14) made from one reverse die and one coin of the same (no. 12) from another reverse die and likewise two coins of Orlagno design (nos 33–34) made from one reverse die and one example of the same (no. 35) from different reverse die

The remaining two obverse, dies III.14 and 15, are found with multiple reverse dies.

III.14 is coupled with the combination of one each specimen of three reverse deities, i.e. Mao (no. 10), Nanashao (no. 19) and Oesho (no. 31).

III.15 produced another similar example of the obverse die that also occurs with combination of a single example of three reverse deities such as Miuro (no. 17), Nanashao (no. 21) and Oesho (no. 30).

The hoard parcel coins of the second phase (A2) of the third emission show that the six obverse dies were shared with a pair of different reverse designs and two obverse dies with three each reverse designs while the remaining six obverse dies are found with single reverse designs. In such examples, the reverse figure Mao is the most often repeated design with other group of deities. Of these the production of obverse die III.27 seems interesting as it yields two pairs of reverse dies one each of Mao and Orlagno. In the first batch two coins each of Mao and Orlagno were made from one set of reverse dies and then in the following batch one coin of each reverse produced from another set of dies. It indicates that the coins were produced in batches whereas a pair or more of reverses were usually coupled with one obverse dies. In certain cases, if the obverse die was damaged, changed or discarded, then the same die was replaced with a new die of the same design. The same criteria of replacement are also found with the reverse dies; if this type of die was broken before the completion of a certain batch, then a new reverse die of the same design was made. After completion of a batch of reverse dies then a new set of different reverse dies, often with new designs, was introduced.

The use of batches of reverse dies is clearly detected in the single obverse die III.27, where the same set of reverse dies was replaced before completion of this batch of dies. The composite die-links also shed some light on the mint organization that more than a pair of obverse dies were functional at a time which produced coins of different reverse designs in different batches (table 2). The mint organization for gold coins of Kanishka I in batches may be explained as follows.

The gold coins of Kanishka I produced during the early phase inscribed with a Greek legend were made using two

obverse dies with two sets of reverse deities at a time. The obverse designs of both dies were almost identical except that different types of crowns are worn by the king, i.e. (a) low cap surmounted by a crescent at forehead and (b) a Parthian type of Phrygian bonnet with a circular disc at the side. The two obverse dies were installed at two work stations in the mint (Cribb 1998). The same scheme of obverse dies with a respective group of reverse designs is seen in the following phase of transition, whereas the old obverse and reverse dies were simultaneously recut for the Bactrian inscription. The tradition of two work stations in one mint based on obverse dies was then continued in the second phase of production where gold dinars were issued with Bactrian legends. The same practice was probably continued in the third phase of gold coins where the coins were produced from different obverse dies of uniform design, the king wearing the tall, rounded crown with wide laddered brim, side wavy decoration and three-pronged element at the top. From this, therefore, 24 obverse dies have been identified only in phase A2, the main production stage, of the third emission of the gold coins of Kanishka I. In the light of all available material, a detailed study of the works stations in respect of die-links of the gold coins of the third phase should be carried out in future publications.

Comparison and analysis

The reverse designs with combination of obverse dies likewise reveal interesting statistics of the coin production in phase A2 of the third emission.

On Göbl's analysis, the coins of Lrooaspo (III.6A, 8, 24) and Mozdooano designs (III.8, 14–15) were both produced from three different sets of obverse dies, Manaobago (III.3, 9, 12–13) and Mao (III.3, 8, 9–10) each from four different obverse dies, Miuro from five obverse dies (III.3–4, 15, 18, 22), and Nanashao (III.4a, 6A, 10, 14–18, 20, 20a, 24), Oesho (III.3, 8, 14, 17, 20, 20a, 21–24, 27) and Orlagno (III.4, 8, 10, 16–18, 20a, 24–27) each from different sets of 11 obverse dies (table 1a, Göbl table 28). With the addition of a 14 fresh obverse die-links from the hoard under discussion, the number of obverse dies with combination of five reverses is substantially increased. Accordingly, the coins of Manaobago design were made from five obverse dies (III.3, 8–9, 12–13), Mao from nine obverse dies (III.3, 4, 8–10, 14, 20, 22, 27), Miuro from eight obverse dies (III.3–4, 15, 15a, 18, 20, 22, 24), Oesho from 12 obverse dies (III.3, 8, 14–15, 17, 20, 20a, 21–24, 27) and Orlagno from 13 obverse dies (III.4, 6A, 8–9, 10, 16–18, 20a, 24–27) (tables 1a–2). The number of obverse dies with three reverse designs Lrooaspo, Mozdooano and Nanashao is unchanged.

In contrast to obverse dies with multiple reverses, some new reverse dies are also applied with multiple obverse dies. Most of these dies are found in pairs of obverse dies such as figure of Lrooaspo (no. 2) with obverse dies III.6A and III.24, Manaobago (nos 1.1 and 1.2) with obverse dies III.3 and III.9, and III.12 and 13, Nanashao (no. 1.18) with obverse dies III.4a and III.15, Oesho (nos 4.15 and 4.31) with obverse dies III.3 and III.8, and III.22 and III.17, and Orlagno (no. 1.1) with obverse dies III.4 and III.10 respectively. However, the single reverse design of Mozdooano (no. 1.1) is found with multiple obverse dies III.8, III.15 and III.14. The present

Table 1a Göbl's catalogue number (phase A2, emission III)																								
Göbl's obverse die numbers																								
Deity	3	4	4a	6A	8	9	10	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	20	20a	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Total
Lrooaspo				1.2	1.1															1.2			3	23
Manaobago	1.1					1.1		1.2	1.2														4	4
Mao	1.10				1.12	1.13	1.14																	4
Miirro	1.17										1.18A		1.18B				1.18D							5
1.18C	1.18																							5
Mozdoano					1.1					1.1	1.1													3
Nanashao			1.12	1.18B			1.22			1.17	1.18	1.19	1.20	1.21	1.21B	1.21A				1.21C				11
			1.18							1.17A														
Oesho	4.25				4.25					4.32		4.31			4.33	4.34	4.35	4.31	4.37	4.39			4.30	
					4.32A													4.31A	4.38					
																		4.36						11
Orlagno	1.1				1.2		1.1				1.13	1.3	1.4			1.5				1.6	1.8	1.9	1.10	
																				1.7		1.11		
																						1.12	11	
Total	4	2	1	2	5	2	3	1	1	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	1	2	1	4	1	1	2	52

Table 1b Hoard coins with Göbl's catalogue number (phase A2, emission III)																										
		Göbl's obverse die numbers																								
Deity	3	4	4a	6A	8	9	10	12	13	14	15	15n	16	17	18	20	20a	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Total	
Lrooaspo																									—	
Manaobago					1.1			1.2																	2	
Mao		N1				1.13				N4							N5		N3				N6			
		N2																					N7	6		
Miirro											N2	1.18A			1.18					N1					4	
Mozdoano																									—	
Nanashao									1.17	1.18										1.18B					3	
Oesho									N2	N3									4.31A						3	
Orlagno				1.6	1.2	1.3															1.7	1.9	1.12			
Total	—	1	—	1	2	2	—	1	—	3	3	1	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	2	—	2	1	1	2	24
																							N1	6		

Table 2 Obverse die-links with combination of reverse deities (phase A2, emission III)

<i>Göbl obv. die no.</i>	<i>Lrooaspo</i>		<i>Manaobago</i>		<i>Mao</i>		<i>Miuro</i>		<i>Mozdooano</i>		<i>Nanashao</i>		<i>Oesho</i>		<i>Orlagno</i>	
	<i>Göbl</i>	<i>Hoard</i>	<i>Göbl</i>	<i>Hoard</i>	<i>Göbl</i>	<i>Hoard</i>	<i>Göbl</i>	<i>Hoard</i>	<i>Göbl</i>	<i>Hoard</i>	<i>Göbl</i>	<i>Hoard</i>	<i>Göbl</i>	<i>Hoard</i>	<i>Göbl</i>	<i>Hoard</i>
3			1.1		1.10		1.17				4.25					
							1.18C									
4						N1	1.18								1.1	
						N2										
4a											1.12					
											1.18					
6A	1.2										1.18B					1.6
8	1.1			1.1	1.12				1.1				4.25		1.2	1.2
													4.32A			
9			1.1		1.13	1.13										1.3
10					1.14						1.22				1.1	
12			1.2	1.2												
13			1.2													
14						N4			1.1		1.17	1.17	4.32	4.N2		
											1.17A					
15							1.18A	1.18	1.1		1.18	1.18		4.N3		
15n								N2								
16											1.19				1.13	
17											1.20		4.31		1.3	
18							1.18B				1.21				1.4	
20								1.18			1.21B		4.33			
20a						N5					1.21A		4.34		1.5	
21													4.35			
22						N3	1.18D						4.31,	4.31A		
													4.31A			
													4.36			
23													4.37			
													4.38			
24	1.2							N1			1.21C	1.18B	4.39		1.6, 1.7	
25															1.8	1.7
26															1.9	1.9
27						N6							4.30		1.10	1.12
						N7									1.11	N1
															1.12	
Total	3	—	4	2	4	6	5	4	3	—	11	3	11	3	11	6
<i>Pair with</i>																
<i>Göbl</i>	—		1		1		1		—		3		2		4	
<i>New</i>																
<i>die-links</i>	—		1		5		3		—		—		1		2	

hoard does not yield any evidence of such a type of composite die-link.

Coins of reverse designs of Lrooaspo and Mozdooano are not extant in the hoard parcel and the number of obverse dies designated for the production of Nanashao remains unchanged. The number of obverse die-links is substantially increased, with other reverse deities such as Manaobago marked by one new die, Mao by five, Miuro by three, Oesho by one and Orlagno by two obverse designs. Of these, the number of obverse die-links is extended for the reverse designs of Mao

and Miuro. This new lot of coins has significantly changed the number of obverse die-links and their relationship to different reverses. The results show that half (12) of the obverse dies of the present hoard are found parallel with those of Göbl's work and the other half (12) of the obverse die-links are a new addition to phase A2 of the third emission of Kanishka I. Similarly, 15 reverse dies of the hoard are old and correspond with those of the reverse dies of Göbl while 16 reverse dies are absolutely new which are marked by the letter N. The hoard analysis also establishes a new obverse die-link

Table 3 List of obverse and reverse dies of the hoard

Coin	Type	Rev. die number	Obv. die number
1	Manaobago	1.1	III.8
2	Manaobago	1.2	III.12
3	Mao	1.13	III.9
4	Mao	1.13	III.9
5	Mao	N1	III.4
6	Mao	N2	III.4
7	Mao	N3	III.22
8	Mao	N3	III.22
9	Mao	N3	III.22
10	Mao	N4	III.14
11	Mao	N5	III.20
12	Mao	N6	III.27
13	Mao	N7	III.27
14	Mao	N7	III.27
15	Miuro	1.18	III.20
16	Miuro	N1	III.24
17	Miuro	N2	III.15
18	Miuro	1.18A	III.15n
19	Nanashao	1.17	III.14
20	Nanashao	1.18B	III.24
21	Nanashao	1.18	III.15
22	Nanashao	N1	III.11
23	Nanashao	N2	III.11
24	Oesho	4.31A	III.22
25	Oesho	4.31A	III.22
26	Oesho	4.31A	III.22
27	Oesho	4.31A	III.22
28	Oesho	4.N1	III.6
29	Oesho	4.N1	III.6
30	Oesho	4.N3	III.15
31	Oesho	4.N2	III.14
32	Oesho	4.N4	III.1
33	Orlagno	N1	III.27
34	Orlagno	N1	III.27
35	Orlagno	1.12	III.27
36	Orlagno	1.2	III.8
37	Orlagno	1.3	III.9
38	Orlagno	1.6	III.6A
39	Orlagno	1.7	III.25
40	Orlagno	1.9	III.26

between the reverse figures of Manaobago and Orlagno which is not shown in Göbl's die-link work (his table 28). This brief analysis of the new hoard parcel indicates that the die-link study carried out by Göbl for the gold coins of Kanishka I remains significantly useful. The common phenomenon

where a pair or more of reverse figures appears on the same obverse die suggests that the gold coins of Kanishka I were usually produced in batches. However, the increasing number of obverse die-links with a combination of different reverses also reveals that the die-link study of Göbl was not exhaustive.

Coins of phase A2 in the hoard are dominant, which obviously suggests that the coins were collected during this phase of Kanishka I's reign. The die-link study further shows that the assembly and burial of the coins occurred during the same phase of production. Hence the hoard was compiled in a short space of time in the later years of Kanishka I's reign.

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(arranged by deity with variants)

1 Standing king / Manaobago with dotted wheel



Reference Göbl (1984) *obv.* 58.2 (die III.8), *rev.* 59.1.2 (die 1.1)

2 Standing king / Manaobago with spoked wheel



Reference Göbl (1984) *obv.* 59.3 (die III.12), *rev.* 59.3–4 (die 1.2)

3 Standing king/ Mao with staff



Reference Göbl (1984) *obv.* 58.3 (die III.9), *rev.* 58.3 (die 1.13)

Reference Göbl (1984) *obv.* 58.3 (die III.9), *rev.* 58.3 (die 1.13)

Reference Göbl (1984) *obv.* 56.2 (die III.4), *rev.* 58.x (die 1.N1)

Reference Göbl (1984) *obv.* 56.2 (die III.4), *rev.* 58.x (die 1.N2)

Reference Göbl (1984) *obv.* 62.12 (die III.22), *rev.* 58.x (die I.N3)

Reference Göbl (1984) *obv.* 62.12 (die III.22), *rev.* 58.x (die 1.N3)

9 Standing king / Mao with staff*Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 3.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 62.12 (die III.22), *rev.* 58.x (die 1.N3)**10 Standing king / Mao with staff***Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 3.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 60.3 (die III.14), *rev.* 58.x (die 1.N4)**11 Standing king / Mao with staff***Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 3.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 60.10 (die III.20), *rev.* 58.x (die 1.N5)**12 Standing king / Mao with staff***Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 3.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 63.12-15 (die III.27), *rev.* 58.x (die 1.N6)**B2 Mao without staff****13 Standing king/ Mao without staff***Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 3, but a staff bound with fillet over shoulder disappears.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 63.12-15 (die III.27), *rev.* 58.x (die 1.N7)**14 Standing king / Mao without staff***Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 3.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 63.12-13 (die III.27), *rev.* 58.x (die 1.N7)**C Miiro****15 Standing king / Miiro without staff***Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* Male figure standing frontally with head turned to left, sunrays halo round head, wearing diadem, tunic, trousers, boots and cloak, making two-fingered (fore and little) gesture with right hand and holding a sword in the left near waist. Tamga on left field and Bactrian legend MIIPO (clockwise) on right.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 60.10 (die III.20), *rev.* 56.2 (die 1.18)**16 Standing king/ Miiro without staff***Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 15.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 60.11 (die III.24), *rev.* 56.x (die 1.N1)

17 Standing king/ Miïro without staff



Obverse As 1.

Reverse As 15.

Reference Göbl (1984) *obv.* 60.4 (die III.15), *rev.* 56.x (die 1.N2)

18 Standing king / Miïro without staff



Obverse As 1.

Reverse As 15.

Reference Göbl (1984) *obv.* 56.x (die III.15n), *rev.* 56.3 (die 1.18A)

D Nanashao

19 Standing king/ Nanashao



Obverse As 1.

Reverse Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to right, small crescent at top, halo round head, wearing diadem, double robe dress, holding lion protome sceptre in the right hand and bowl in the left, long sword in scabbard fastened with belt near waist below left arm. Four-pronged tamga in the right field and Bactrian legend NANAṣAO (clockwise) in the left.

Reference Göbl (1984) *obv.* 60.3 (die III.14), *rev.* 60.3 (die 1.17)

20 Standing king / Nanashao



Obverse As 1.

Reverse As 19.

Reference Göbl (1984) *obv.* 60.11 (die III.24), *rev.* 60.12 (die 1.18B)

21 Standing king/ Nanashao



Obverse As 1.

Reverse As 19.

Reference Göbl (1984) *obv.* 61.3 (die III.15), *rev.* 60.4 (die 1.18)

22 Standing king / Nanashao



Obverse As 1.

Reverse As 19.

Reference Göbl (1984) *obv.* 54.3-6 (die III.11), *rev.* 60.x (die 1.N1)

23 Standing king/ Nanashao



Obverse As 1.

Reverse As 19.

Reference Göbl (1984) *obv.* 54.3-6 (die III.11), *rev.* 60.x (die 1.N2)

E1 Oesho without elephant's goad

24 Standing king / Oesho without elephant's goad



Obverse As 1 (no photograph available).

Reverse Four-armed male figure standing frontally with head in profile to left, has long curved moustache, halo round head, hair tightened with topknot, wearing dhoti, beaded necklace over left shoulder, bracelets and armlets. In his four arms he holds: water flask and elephant's goad in lower left, thunderbolt in upper left, trident in upper right and antelope with horns in upper left. Four-pronged tamga in the left field and Bactrian legend OHṣO (clockwise) in the right.

Reference Göbl (1984) *obv.* 62.12 (die III.22), *rev.* 62.12 (die 4.31A)

E2 Oesho with elephant's goad**25** Standing king / Oesho with elephant's goad*Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 24.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 62.12 (die III.22), *rev.* 62.12 (die 4.31A)**26** Standing king / Oesho with elephant's goad*Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 25.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 62.12 (die III.22), *rev.* 62.12 (die 4.31A)**27** Standing king / Oesho with elephant's goad*Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 25.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 62.12 (die III.22), *rev.* 62.12 (die 4.31A)**28** Standing king / Oesho with elephant's goad*Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 25.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 54.2 (die III.6), *rev.* 55.x (die 4.N1)**29** Standing king / Oesho with elephant's goad*Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 25.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 54.2 (die III.6), *rev.* 55.x (die 4.N1)**30** Standing king / Oesho with elephant's goad*Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 25*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 61.3 (die III.15), *rev.* 62.x (die 4.N3)**31** Standing king / Oesho with elephant's goad*Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 25.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 60.3 (die III.14), *rev.* 62.x (die 4.N2)**32** Standing king / Oesho with elephant's goad*Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 25, but elephant's goad in lower right hand is almost invisible perhaps of reengraving of the die.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 52.1 (die III.1), *rev.* 55.x (die 4.N4)**F1 Orlagno with halo****33** Standing king / Orlagno with halo*Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to right, has long curved moustache, halo round head, wearing low cap surmounted by a bird with open wings, long kaftan, trousers and boots, cloak over shoulders, holding long sceptre in right hand and sword across his body in the left. Four-pronged tamga in the right field and Bactrian legend OPLAΓNIO (clockwise) in the left.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 63.12-13 (die III.27), *rev.* 63.x (die 4.N1)

34 Standing king / Orlagno with halo*Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 33*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 63.12-13 (die III.27), *rev.* 63.x (die N1)**35** Standing king / Orlagno with halo*Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 33, but inscribed with usual Bactrian legend OPΛATNO (clockwise) in the left field.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 63.12-15 (die III.27), *rev.* 63.15 (die 1.12)**F2 Orlagno without halo****36** Standing king / Orlagno without halo*Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 35, but halo round head disappears.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 63.3 (die III.8), *rev.* 63.3 (die 1.2)**37** Standing king / Orlagno without halo*Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 36.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 58.3 (die III.9), *rev.* 63.5 (die 1.3)**38** Standing king / Orlagno without halo*Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 36.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 60.12 (die III.6A), *rev.* 63.8 (die 1.6)**39** Standing king / Orlagno without halo*Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 36.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 63.10 (die III.25), *rev.* 63.9 (die 1.7)**40** Standing king / Orlagno without halo*Obverse* As 1.*Reverse* As 36.*Reference* Göbl (1984) *obv.* 63.11 (die III.26), *rev.* 63.11 (die 1.9)
According to Göbl, Orlagno rev. die 63.11.1 is a modern forgery

A unique Fāṭimid damma from ‘al-Sind wa al-Hind’

Bilal Ahmed

Abstract This paper presents a recently discovered coin of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Zāhir issued by the Ismaili community after the Ghaznavid annexation of the Ismāʿīlī state at Multan. Fractional silver dirhams, commonly known as dammas (or Qanhari dirhams) are known to have been issued by the Ismāʿīlī governors of Multan during the reigns of the Fāṭimid Caliphs: al-Muʿizz (r. 341–65 AH/953–75 CE), al-ʿAzīz (r. 365–86 AH/975–96 CE) and al-Ḥākim (r. 386–411 AH/996–1021 CE).¹ It was during the reign of al-Ḥākim that Multan was annexed by the Ghaznavid ruler Mahmūd in the year 401 AH (1011 CE) and the Ismāʿīlī state at Multan was disbanded. Little is known about Ismāʿīlī activities after the Ghaznavid conquest till the emergence of the Ismāʿīlī Soomra dynasty that ruled southern (lower) Sind beginning around 443 AH (1051–2 CE). Still less is known about how the Ismāʿīlī community survived through Ghaznavid rule. The coin presented here provides some marginal yet new insights about the survival of the Ismāʿīlī community while evading persecution at the hands of the Ghaznavid rulers.

In India, the regions of Makran, Khuzdar² and Sind had been under Arab control since the military campaign of Muhammad bin Qasim in 92 AH (712 CE) and had significant Arab presence (Asimov et al. 1992; Mubarakpuri 1967). As a frontier province, Sind (al-Sind in contemporary historical sources) was administered by the caliphate. The governor of Sind (formally Amil of Sind) was either directly appointed by the office of the caliph or by the governor of the eastern provinces, i.e. Iraq or Khurasan. Multan (in the north) and Mansurah (in the South) were the two prominent administrative centres of al-Sind.

As a frontier caliphal province, the office of the caliph could only exert nominal control over the affairs of Sind. Due to its remoteness from the caliphal centre, Sind became a safe haven for anti-Umayyad rebels that consisted of political and religious dissidents. This situation led to the settlement of a number of pro-Alid as well as Kharijite families within the environs of Mansurah and Multan (Maclean 1989). Both Mansurah and Multan gained autonomy from the caliphate towards the end of the first half of the third century AH (ninth century CE). Mansurah was ruled by the Habbārīds while Multan's ruling dynasty claimed descent from Banu Sama (Asimov et al. 1992; Mubarakpuri 1967). The semi-independent regions of Sind and Multan gained the attention of the Ismāʿīlī mission quite early on. Because of their strong Shīʿite leanings and the presence of pro-Alid families, the Muslim population of Manusrah and Multan were viewed by the Ismāʿīlī dāʿīs (missionaries) as being more amenable to their message (Maclean, 1989).

Ismāʿīlism in Multan

Ismāʿīlī missionary activity had been active prior to the establishment of the Fāṭimid caliphate towards the end of the third century AH (ninth century CE). Contemporary sources cite that in the year 270 AH (883 CE) the Yamani dāʿī (head

of the mission) Abu'l Qasim bin Hawshab sent his nephew al-Haitham as a Ismāʿīlī dāʿī to the region of Sind (Hamdani, 1956). Furthermore, there are reports of active Ismāʿīlī missions in India prior to the Fāṭimid conquest of North Africa which took place in 297 AH (909 CE) (Daftary 2011). Beginning within the environs of Sind, the Ismaili mission gained substantial number of followers at both Mansurah and Multan.

During the reign of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz (r. 341–65 AH / 953–75 CE), Jalam Ibn Shayban was sent to Multan to head the local Ismāʿīlī order. Jalam was able to wrest control of Multan from the last Amir of the Banu Sama dynasty and laid the foundation of an Ismāʿīlī state. Jalam destroyed the famed temple of Aditya and the central mosque which was built during Umayyad times was abandoned (Hamdani 1956; Khan 1975). The Friday sermon was read in the name of the Fāṭimid caliph of Cairo. The local standard of coinage consisting of silver Qanhari dirhams (dammās) was maintained but coins were now struck in the name of the Fāṭimid caliph (Fishman 2018).

At this point it will be informative to briefly overview the Fāṭimid coinage issued from Multan. Figure 1 shows the fractional dirhams (also called Qanhari dirhams or dammas) issued from Multan during the reigns of the three Fāṭimid caliphs al-Muʿizz, al-ʿAzīz and al-Ḥākim (figures 1–3). These Fāṭimid dammas carry the Shīʿite (which is also the Ismāʿīlī) profession of faith or *Shahadah* on the obverse. The Shahadah attests to the unity of Allah (*Tawḥīd*, i.e. monotheism), the prophethood of Muhammad and the *wilaya* (loosely translated as sainthood) of ʿAlī Ibn Abi-Talib, the cousin of the prophet and the fourth of the rightly guided caliphs, Rashidun. ʿAlī is also considered as the first imam by the Shīʿites and the Ismāʿīlīs alike. The inclusion of the *wilaya* of ʿAlī as part of the core beliefs is an addition to the more mainstream Sunni version of the Shahadah.

Additionally, the Multani dammas carry the titles of the ruling Fāṭimid caliph who not only occupied the political office of the caliph but also the religious title of the Imam for the Ismāʿīlī community (Khan 1975). The titles cited on the coins have some variation, for example al-Muʿizz and al-Ḥākim are cited as *amir al-Momineen* (leader/commander of the faithful), a title that was also used by the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsīd caliphs. al-ʿAzīz is cited as al-imam (the leader) having a deeper religious connotation than the title of *amir al-Momineen*.

A chain of Ismāʿīlī dāʿīs, probably from the progeny of Jalam Ibn Shayban, continued to rule Multan as the local governors of the Fāṭimid caliphate (Hamdani 1956). The rise of the Ismāʿīlī state in Multan and Sind dealt a blow to the ʿAbbāsīd presence in the Indian Ocean littoral, having an impact on its revenue that was acquired from trade with the Far East (Maclean 1989). In addition to losing commercial and political clout in the east, the Fāṭimid takeover of Multan and Sind was a direct challenge to the religious authority of the caliph in Baghdad. The ʿAbbāsīds however did not have the resources to undertake a punitive campaign in order to reclaim their eastern holdings. They, instead, looked at local amirs

¹ First published in (Lowick, 1983)

² Qusdar in most contemporary sources



Figure 1 Al-Mu'izz (r. 341–65 AH / 953–75 CE), AR damma, 0.53 g, undated, no mint name, Album no. A702, FT-FG1. Obverse, *la ilaha illa / Allah Muhammad / rasul Allah / 'Alī waliyuhu*. Reverse, *al-Mu'izz l'dee / n Allah amir / al-momineen / Ma'ad*.



Figure 2 Al-'Azīz (r. 365–86 AH / 975–96 CE), AR damma, 0.53 g, undated, no mint name, Album A708, FT-FG2. Obverse, *la ilaha illa / Allah Muhammad / rasul Allah / 'Alī waliyuhu*. Reverse, *Nizar Abu / 'l-Mansur / al-imam al-Az / iz billah*.



Figure 3 Al-Hākim (r. 386–411 AH / 996–1021 CE), AR damma, 0.51 g, undated, no mint name, Album 4592, FT-FG3. Obverse, *la ilaha illa / Allah Muhammad / rasul Allah / 'Alī waliyuhu*. Reverse, *Mansur / Abu 'Alī al-amir / al-Hakim b'a / mr Allah*. The dammas of al-Hakim were issued till the annexation of Multan by Mahmud in the year 401 AH (1011 CE).

and sultans to champion their cause in exchange for ratifying their rule and officially granting them their territories. The newly crowned Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna who had recently asserted his independence from the Samanids, rose to the occasion and not only acknowledged the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Qadir in the Friday khutba and on his coins but also undertook the persecution of the Ismā'īlīs on behalf of the 'Abbāsīds (Nazim 1931; Bosworth 1963)

Ghaznavid annexation of Multan

As the Ghaznavid emirate grew in power and its eastern campaigns gained momentum after their initial military engagements with the Hindu Shahi rulers of Ohind, annexation of Multan and Mansurah (Sind) became viable. Sebuktegin invaded Multan in 381 AH (991 CE) (Bosworth 1963). The ruler of Multan was one Sheikh Hamid, a direct descendant of Jalam Ibn Shayban (see above). A truce was established between Sheikh Hamid and Sebuktegin whereby Multan became a tributary of Ghazna and served as a buffer state between the Ghaznavid domains and the Indian ruling dynasties such as the Gurjara Pratihara of Kanauj (Hamdani 1956).

Sebuktegin was succeeded by his son Mahmud, who came

to power in the year 387 AH (997 CE) (Bosworth 1963). So far, the amir of Ghazna had been a governor of the Samanid overlords; Mahmud exploited the weakening Samanid rule and asserted his independence as the aultan of Ghazna. As opposed to Sebuktegin and his former Samanid overlords Mahmud acknowledged the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Qadir, and aspired to become a champion of the Sunni cause by actively persecuting Ismā'īlī and Shī'ite populations in Khurasan (Bosworth 1963). It is partly with these motivations and an eye on the riches of Multan, Mahmud invaded Multan for the first time in 396 AH (1005–6 CE). The ruler of Multan, Abu'l Futuh Dawud (son of Sheikh Hamid) was forced to conclude a peace treaty with Mahmud after a seven-day siege. As per the terms of the treaty, an initial payment of 20,000 dirhams (some sources erroneously cite 20 million dirhams) was to be made and, furthermore, Multan was to pay an annual tribute to Ghazna (Bosworth 1963). Mahmud had to rush back to Ghazna as the Qarakhanid ruler Ilek Khan Naṣr bin 'Alī taking advantage of Mahmud's absence had overrun Khurasan. The Qarakhanid forces occupied Khurasan, ousting Mahmud's governor who had to retire to Ghazna (Nazim 1931). The temporary occupation of Khurasan by the Qarakhanids is corroborated by silver and gold coins struck at Balkh, Herat and Nishapur by Naṣr bin 'Alī (Album 2011).

Seeing that Mahmud has his hands full with the Qarakhanids, Abu'l Futuh Dawud stopped the annual payments and reverted back to Ismā'īlīsm (Khan 1975). Once Mahmud had dealt with the Qarakhanids and secured his Western holdings, he returned once again to Multan in 401 AH (1011 CE) and ousted Abu'l Fateh Dawud, who was taken prisoner and spent the rest of his life confined in a fortress in Ghor (Ghurak according to some accounts) (Bosworth 1963; Nazim 1931). Multan thus came under direct Ghaznavid control and served as one of the main centres of Ghaznavid administration in India (Nizam 1931).

Ghaznavid administration meant a change in the extant coinage. After Maḥmūd's first campaign the existing Fāṭimid coinage was replaced by what can be termed as the early Ghaznavid coinage (Fishman 2018). On the early Ghaznavid series (figure 4) the Ismā'īlī/Shī'ite version of the Shahadah was replaced by the Sunni version and a special word *haqqan* (figure 4, below), conveying the meaning of positive affirmation i.e., asserting that the Sunni version is the correct profession of faith, was included with the Shahadah as part of the obverse legend. This special phrase was included only on the Multani coins; no other known contemporary Ghaznavid issues carry this phrase. The name of the reigning Fāṭimid caliph was replaced by the name and titles of Maḥmūd, without citing the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Qadir

The early Ghaznavid series was short-lived and was replaced by a series of dammas that can be termed as the later Ghaznavid series, probably after the Ghaznavid annexation of Multan in 401 AH (1011 CE).

The weight standard was maintained but the design and calligraphy underwent major changes. Figure 5 shows specimens of Ghaznavid dammas struck during the reigns of Maḥmūd, Masūd and Mawdūd. Comparing the style of these dammas with their predecessors, the Fāṭimid and the early Ghaznavid dammas, it can be observed that the calligraphy is more angular and the coins are struck on relatively larger and



Figure 4 Ghaznavids. Maḥmūd (r. 388–421 / 998–1030 CE), AR damma, undated, no mint name, Album 4593, FT-FG4. These early Ghaznavid dammas may have been issued immediately after Maḥmūd's first attack on Multan in 396 AH (1005–6 CE). Obverse, *la ilaha illa / Allah Muhammad / Rasul Allah / 'haqqan'* ('Truly' 'Actually'). Reverse, *Yamin al-Dawlah / Amin al-Millāh / Mahmud bin / Nasir al-Din* was the 'laqab' (title) of Sebuktegin (Bosworth, 1963)

thinner flans. Similarly, as compared to the earlier dammas that did not have borders, the later Ghaznavid dammas have circular borders. The dammas of Masūd and Mawdūd (figure 5b and c) carry inscriptions on the outer obverse and reverse margins.

Issues of Maḥmūd and Masūd contain the phrase *Al Mulk Lillah* ('Dominion (rule) belongs to Allah'). This phrase is included mostly in provincial or local issues of various contemporary regional dynasties (Fishman 2018). The script used on the Ghaznavid dammas while still being Kufic can be seen to have a more 'angular' character in contrast to the Fāṭimid issues, additionally the obverse and reverse fields are adorned with ornamental annulets and symbols.

The state of Ismā'īlī affairs under the Ghaznavids

Maḥmūd adopted an aggressive attitude towards the Ismā'īlīs of Multan and Sind. According to al-Baghdādī (d. 429 AH, 1037 CE), a contemporary theologian, thousands of Ismā'īlīs were massacred by Maḥmūd in the immediate aftermath of his conquest of Multan (Hamdani 1956). The actions of Maḥmūd, specifically his persecution of the Ismā'īlīs was rewarded by the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Qadir who bestowed the title of Nizam al-Din ('Organizer of the Faith') on Maḥmūd (Bosworth 1963; Hamdani 1956).

The Fāṭimid caliphate, however, continued its quest for gaining a larger following especially in the eastern territories. For example, the caliph al-Hākīm in the year 403 AH (1012–



a Maḥmūd (r. 387–421 AH / 997–1030 CE), AR damma, (top, 0.36 g, 10.5–12.6 mm; below, 0.48 g, 10.8–12.1 mm), undated, no mint name, Album 1613, FT-GH2. Obverse, *la ilaha illa / Allah wahdahu / la sharika lahu*. Reverse, *Muḥammad / rasul Allah / al-mulk lillah / Mahmud*.



b Masūd I (r. 421–32 AH / 1030–40 CE), AR damma, (top, 0.65g, 11.6–12.6 mm), (below, 0.65g, 11.3–12.1 mm), undated, no mint name, FT-GH9. Obverse, *la ilaha illa / Allah wahdahu / la sharika lahu*. Reverse: *Muḥammad / rasul Allah / al-mulk lillah / Masu*.



c Mawdūd (r. 432–40 AH / 1041–48 CE), AR damma, (top, 0.41g, 10.1–11.3 mm), (below, 0.53g, 10.4–11.5 mm), undated, no mint name, FT-GH21. Obverse, *la ilaha illa / Allah wahdahu / la sharika lahu*. Reverse, *Muḥammad / rasul Allah / Mawdūd*. The word *Lillah* ('For Allah') is repeated in a circular motif around the circular border on both sides

Figure 5 (right) (right) Ghaznavid dammas issued in the regions of Multan and Sind. As compared to the Fāṭimid (figure 1) and the early Ghaznavid (figure 4) dammas, these dammas were struck on larger flans and included a number of design features such as circular borders with annulets and ornamental symbols/text in the obverse and reverse fields.

NB This is not an exhaustive representation of dammas issued by the Ghaznavid rulers. Fractional dirhams and dammas were also issued in their western territories such as Ghazna and Bust.

13 CE) is known to have made diplomatic efforts to win over Maḥmūd to the Fāṭimid cause, however these efforts bore no fruits (Daftary, 2011). Later in the year 414 AH (1023 CE), the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ẓāhir bestowed a robe of honor (khila'at) on Maḥmūd's vizier Hasanak, who was returning after performing the pilgrimage to Mecca. However, Maḥmūd had the robe sent to Baghdad where it was publicly burnt (Daftary 2011; Nazim 1931).

Even though the Fāṭimid control on Multan and Sind was lost, there was still Ismā'īlī presence in these territories. Furthermore, owing to the formation of splinter groups such as the Druze, the Fāṭimid caliphs proactively sought new followers in newer territories and continued to establish contact with communities that were being subjected to persecution (Daftary, 2011). The Ismā'īlīs of Multan thus shifted their presence more southwards towards the city of Mansurah, which had been the capital of the Habbarids since 240 AH (854 CE) (Hamdani 1956).

The Habbarids seem to have embraced the Ismā'īlī creed beginning 375 AH and continued to do so till the end of the dynasty at the hands of Maḥmūd in 416 AH (Hamdani 1956). The conversion to Ismā'īlism is supported by Ibn al-Athir's account who mentions that Maḥmūd took the town of Mansurah from an Amir who had renounced Islam (Khan 1975). This would be in line with the Sunni *ulema* classifying the Ismā'īlīs as Mulahida (heretics or infidels). The name of the last Habbarid ruler is given as Khafif (Hamdani 1956; Nazim 1931).

Having established centres at both Multan and Mansura the Ismā'īlī community evaded persecution at the hands of the Ghaznavids by spreading out in Sind while also establishing a presence more southwards in what is modern day Gujarat, India. The Ismā'īlīs were able to persevere through the harsh Ghaznavid rule by practising *taqiyya*, or 'the dissimulation of true beliefs under adverse circumstances', a practice that was adopted by both Shī'ites and Ismā'īlīs (Daftary 2011). It was finally under the rule of a local Sindi tribe: the Soomras that Ismā'īlī rule was established once again in Sind around 443 AH (151 CE) (Hamdani 1956; Khan 1975).

The transitional Ismā'īlī state 416–43 AH

No Ismā'īlī uprisings or organized missionary activities are reported till the reign of Sultan Mawdūd bin Masūd (r. 432–42 AH/1041–50 CE). Mawdūd had to deal with an Ismā'īlī uprising in Multan when he came to power after deposing his uncle Muḥammad bin Maḥmūd who had been raised to the throne after the debacle of Masūd's army against the Seljuqs at Dandanaqan (Bosworth 1977). The Ismā'īlī rebels – probably sensing an opportunity because of the Ghaznavid defeat against the Seljuqs – were led by the son of Abu'l Futuh Dāwūd to re-establish Ismā'īlī rule in Multan (Hamdani 1956; Khan 1975). Subsequently, the rebellion was crushed by Mawdūd and Multan was secured as a Ghaznavid holding.

The rebellion shows that the Ismā'īlī community was organized enough to launch a military campaign even after they had lost both Multan and Mansura and their populations had been previously massacred by Maḥmūd. Figure 6 shows a recently discovered coin that is currently held in a private collection. The coin was found in a hoard consisting of dammas issued by Masūd I and Mawdūd. The hoard was



Figure 6 Fāṭimids in Sind: al-Ẓāhir (r. 411–27 AH, 1021–36 CE), AR damma (Qanhari Dirham), undated, no mint name, 0.47 g, 10.9–12.1 mm. This is the first and only known damma struck in al-Ẓāhir's name from the regions of Sind (Mansurah) and/or Multan. (Private collection)

discovered in the vicinity of Dipalpur, located about half way between the cities of Multan and Lahore in Pakistan. The coin is struck to the Indian standard of a damma (Qanhari dirham) and is the first known issue of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ẓāhir (r. 411–27 AH, 1021–36 CE) struck by the surviving Ismā'īlī community after the Ghaznavid annexation of Multan and Mansurah. The coin does not have a mint or date, however based on the name of the Fāṭimid caliph it can be dated to coincide with al-Ẓāhir's reign: 1021–36 CE

Coin description

Obverse: la ilaha illa / Allah Muhammad / rasul Allah

Reverse: al-Ẓāhir / l'aizaz deen / Allah 'Alī

Inside a double lined circle with annulets placed at 3, 6, 9 and 12 o'clock on both sides. The obverse field has cryptic symbols (possibly ornaments) at the top and bottom of central inscriptions.

To locate this damma within the contemporary coinage of Multan we can compare it with the Fāṭimid series, its successor, i.e. the early Ghaznavid coinage (which replaced the main Fāṭimid series after the annexation of Multan) and to the later Ghaznavid dammas that became part of the de facto coinage of the Ghaznavids in Multan and Sind:

Calligraphy

The Fāṭimid series (figure 1) and its successor, the early Ghaznavid dammas (figure 2), have similar styles of calligraphy. The similarities can be observed by comparing the common inscription, i.e. the Shahadah between the two series. However, the later Ghaznavid coinage (figure 3) has a completely different style of calligraphy than the previous two series. The letters are more angular and 'squarish' than the script used for the Fāṭimid coins. The coin in question i.e., the damma of al-Ẓāhir can be placed in the later Ghaznavid series based on its calligraphy. This can be established once again by comparing the construction of common inscriptions, especially the Shahadah.

Fabric and design

The later Ghaznavid dammas are struck on thin planchets while the earlier dammas have thicker and relatively smaller flans. From a design perspective the later Ghaznavid dammas tend to have circular borders decorated with annulets or carrying repeated textual motifs, e.g. the word *Lillah* ('For Allah') repeated in the outer margin of Mawdūd's issues (figure 3c). Ornamental elements or symbols are also placed in the central fields. The earlier Fāṭimid dammas are however devoid of ornaments or borders. The coin of al-Ẓāhir has a

double-circular border containing annulets similar to the later Ghaznavid issues of Maḥmūd (figure 3a). Additionally, the obverse central field has two cryptic symbols placed at the top and the bottom, similar to the later Ghaznavid dammas that have annulets placed at the same locations. The size and thickness of the flan is also similar to the later Ghaznavid coins. Similarly, the weight of the coin is also in accordance with the weights of the later Ghaznavid dammas.³

Shahadah

The Multani coins of the three Fāṭimid caliphs, i.e. al-Mu‘izz, al-‘Azīz and al-Ḥākīm, carry the Shī‘ite version of the Shahdah. The coin of al-Ẓāhir carries the Sunni version of the Shahada, omitting the part that attests to the *wilaya* (sainthood) of Ali.

Titulature of the Fāṭimid caliph

Al-Ẓāhir’s title are listed as his complete regnal name, *al-Ẓāhir Li Aizaz Deen Allah* (‘The one who appears to increase the glory of the religion of Allah’) and his given name, ‘Alī. Interestingly, the legends do not proclaim al-Ẓāhir as the amir al-Momineen nor as the imam. This is in contrast to the Multani issues of his predecessors on which they were proclaimed as the amir al-momineen or the imam.

The last two points, i.e. the use of the Sunni Shahada and the omission of al-Ẓāhir’s titles, point to the possibility that these coins may have been issued while the Ismā‘īlī community was going through a period of *taqiyya* (see above) to escape persecution at the hands of the Ghaznavid rulers. By not inscribing the Shī‘ite version of the Shahadah the issuing authorities do not openly proclaim their religious beliefs. However, by citing the name of al-Ẓāhir they affirm their political association with the Fāṭimid court voicing their dissent from Ghaznavid rule.

The reign of al-Ẓāhir (r. 411–27 AH, 1021–36 CE) overlaps with the later years of Maḥmūd’s reign and the first half of Masūd I’s rule. Masūd I is known to have taken a more lenient attitude towards Ismailis than his father Maḥmūd (Khan 1975). It can be conjectured that the coin presented

here may have been struck by the Ismā‘īlīs during the time of relative respite during Masūd I’s reign, i.e. between the years 1030 and 1036 CE.

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³ Stephen Album in a private correspondence with the author confirmed that the weight and design of the coin is in accordance with the contemporary coins of Sind (including the territories of Multan and Lahore).

A group of twelfth-century Indian gold coins from Balkh

John S. Deyell

Abstract a small group of ten base gold coins, reportedly from Balkh in northern Afghanistan, appeared in the numismatic trade.¹ They are all Lakshmi-type trimetallic coins (gold-silver-copper alloy) in the name of Govindachandra of the Gahadavala dynasty.



Figure 1 Serial no. 2, 4.1 grams, type D-145



Figure 2 Serial no. 4, 4.0 grams, type D-145



Figure 3 Serial no. 5, 4.0 grams, type D-145



Figure 4 Serial no. 7, 3.8 grams, type D-145



Figure 5 Serial no. 8, 3.8 grams, type D-145



Figure 6 Serial no. 1, 4.2 grams, type D-145b



Figure 7 Serial no. 3, 4.3 grams, type D-145b



Figure 8 Serial no. 9, 4.4 grams, type D-145b



Figure 9 Serial no. 10, 4.3 grams, type D-145b



Figure 10 Serial no. 6, 4.3 grams, type D-145b

The types are as listed in Deyell (2022, 238, 241) and are described here.

Type D-145 is base gold, nominally 4½ masha, average weight 3.88 grams (50 specimens). The composition is 47 per cent gold, 37 per cent silver, 15 per cent copper, 1 per cent trace elements, mainly lead and iron (5 specimens).

Obverse Seated Lakshmi, six dots in girdle.

Reverse श्रीमद्गो / विन्दचन्द्र / देव (śrīmad-go / vinda candra / devah) with plain श्री (śrī). Bottom right, lotus.

¹ I am grateful to Rashid Mirza of the UK, for bringing these to my attention, and for generously providing photographs and weights of the coins. The 'serial numbers' are Rashid's numbering.

Type D-145b is similar, nominally $4\frac{1}{2}$ masha, average weight 4.28 g (40 specimens), composition as above.

Obverse Seated Lakshmi, seven dots in girdle. Extra dot left (and sometimes right) of her shoulders.

Reverse as D-145 but with dot in श्री 'Śrī'

As can be seen, there were two distinct types, which were minted at Kāśī and Prayāg during the lifetime of their namesake (about. 1116–64 CE) and posthumously up until the sacking of Kāśī by the Ghurids in 1194 CE. They were succeeded immediately by an issue in the name of Muhammad bin Sam (probably minted from 1194–1210). With the hoard information presently available, it is not possible to link each type to its specific mint of origin.

The coins show quite clearly the tell-tale features that distinguish the two types of Govindachandra coins, D-145 and D-145b.



D-145b, heavy weight (4.3 g)

Obverse Seven beads in girdle of goddess (shown in yellow), single dot beside each shoulder (shown in red)

Reverse Single dot within श्री (śrī) (shown in green).



D-145, light weight (3.9 g)

Obverse Six beads in girdle of goddess (shown in yellow), no dots beside her shoulders (circled in red)

Reverse No dot within श्री (śrī) (circled in green)

These are not the first seated Lakshmi gold coins to be found in Balkh, nor are they the only coins of this type found in Afghanistan. Base gold issues of this series in the name of Gangeyadeva (Kalachuri), Govindachandra (Gahadavala), Kumarapala (Yadava) and Muhammad bin Sam (Ghurid), have been found separately and together in various Afghan provinces, either in archeological excavations or surfaced in local gold markets (Deyell 2022, map 8.2, 71; hoard 11 (Paktia), 214; Errington 2021, nos 13–20, fig. 29, 199).

My own view is that these were all issues of three mints, initially independent but ultimately brought within the ambit of the Ghurid conquerors: Tribhuvanagiri (Bayana), Prayāg (Allahabad) and Kāśī (Banares). The coins may well have been brought to their ultimate home in Afghanistan in commerce, possibly for the horse trade between Delhi and Central Asia. However it is equally possible that they were the pay or loot of an Afghan trooper under the service of the Ghurids, who brought the coins back to his homeland as savings. Either way, the coins are eloquent testimony to the strong links between the Gangetic basin and Central Asia forged during the incursion of the Turks into north India in the late twelfth / early thirteenth century.

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John Deyell's interest in Indian coins was sparked by P. L. Gupta in the early 1970s, initially via his book *Coins* and thereafter in person at the NSI, Varanasi. After formal studies with A. K. Narain at U. W. Madison, and a career elsewhere, in 2008 he resumed his pursuit of numismatic research. His book *Living Without Silver: The monetary history of medieval northern India* was published in 2009. His recent book *Lakshmi Bearer of Riches: Indian gold coinage after the tenth century* brings his studies up to date.

Reading suggestions and revised attribution for some Malay tin coins recovered from the Batanghari and Musi rivers, Sumatra

Aditya Bayu Perdana

Abstract As a nexus of maritime trade, a bewildering assortment of currencies once circulated in the Malay Archipelago. Despite this rich heritage, studies of Malay coins are somewhat limited. As remarked by Christie (1996, 243–4), historians are prone to overlook native coins of the region as they often lack unique royal names, dates, or any other consistent identifying elements even in the best of specimens. This has not stopped a number of scholars, including Netscher and van der Chijs (1855), Millies (1871), Singh (1986), Mitchiner (2012), and Robinson (2015) from establishing the identity of a myriad of coins. Still, some cases are harder to crack than others, with some coins consigned to unsatisfying attributions based on conjectural reading of rather crude and perplexing inscriptions. Tin coins from Indonesia are especially prone to be poorly described and misattributed in current literature, making them difficult to be placed within the broader historical landscape. In this paper, the author examined several of these coins and offer re-readings of their inscriptions as a possible means of rectifying their attribution.¹

Jambi

Among the surrounding Malay states, seventeenth/eighteenth century Jambi sultanate was known for its Javanese-like aspects. Jambi legends hold that their connection to Java was established since the times of the Majapahit Empire when Jambi king Orang Kaya Hitam foiled a Majapahit plot to depose him. His fierce confrontation earned the Majapahit ruler's respect who granted him marriage to a Javanese princess, several regalia, and exemption from tributary duties (Andaya 1993, 12). In the sixteenth century, Jambi recognized Java's Mataram sultanate as its overlord and emulated Javanese court culture in the hopes of achieving a brotherly relation with Mataram. However, Jambi's intention was rarely reciprocated due to the Mataram court's attitude that 'generally looked down on people from Sumatra, even those of rank' (Andaya 1993, 14, 70–1). This only fuelled Jambi's resentment and eventually, growing prosperity from the pepper trade and alliance with the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) would encourage Jambi to sever Mataram overlordship in the mid-seventeenth century. Despite this severing of ties, the Jambi court maintained its air of Javanese-ness as a sign of cultural prestige and it was displayed through various means such as royal title, clothing, and palace entertainment (Andaya 1993, 66–7; Locher-Scholten 2003, 37–9). Coins, it seems, were also part of this display, as numerous Sumatran coins bearing Javanese script can be linked to Jambi.

¹ Note that all names in this paper use contemporary spelling. Older sources may have romanized the same name inconsistently, such as *ing-Lagã*, *Ingalago* and *Ingologo* for *ingalaga*. Note also that some Jambi names are pronounced with interchangeable /a/ and /o/ sound which might be romanized differently between sources. For example, Orang Kaya Hitam = Orang Kayo Hitam, Muara Tebo = Muaro Tebo.

1 Coins bearing Javanese script without regnal name (undetermined date)

1a *Cap sultan jambi*

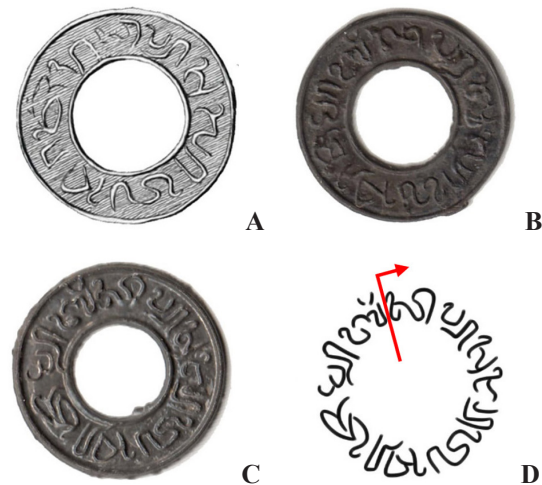


Figure 1 Tin coin with circular central hole, found in Batanghari river. Obverse, narrow rim around hole and at edge, inscription surrounding centre. Reverse plain. A, Millies (1861, pl. 18, 168); B, Ade Putra Collection (0.79 g, 24 mm), C from Ade Putra collection (1.47 g, 24 mm). D, interpretation of the inscription, *cap sultan jambi* (seal of Sultan Jambi) in Javanese script. Base to centre, read clockwise.

Millies (1861) only discussed one type of Jambi coin bearing Javanese script, which reads *cap sultan jambi* (figure 1).

According to Ade Putra from Jambi,² this type can still be commonly found in the Batanghari river today with a varying degree of quality. Millies seems to only had access to poor specimens as all the coins in his plate have crude inscriptions. Mitchiner (2012, 30, 34), basing his appraisal on Millies, described the script as 'Sumatran-Javanese,' a seemingly distinct and simpler script from 'normal Javanese.' However, it should be noted that 'normal' Javanese script prior to its print standardization in the nineteenth century had a huge variety of styles.³ While *cap sultan* specimens with crude Javanese are indeed common, Ade Putra's documentation shows that well-formed examples do exist, and their script is not dissimilar to early modern Javanese varieties used in Java.⁴ Affinity can especially be seen with script varieties used in the northern coast of Java.⁵ The author considers that

² Ade Putra is a local informant from Jambi province, Indonesia who has kindly shared to the author his documentation of coins dredged from the Batanghari River. Much of his collection has been sold, but although most of the items had been photographed before sale, he did not record the weight of every specimen. The weights shown here are based on similar specimens remaining in the collection.

³ See Molen (2000), Holle (1999), and Kumar et al. (1996, 161–2).

⁴ See, for example, the British Library's Sloane 1403E and Sloane MS 1035 described by Gallop (2019).

⁵ Philologist Ilham Nurwansah concurred with the author's opinion in this regard.

Mitchiner's script designation is somewhat misleading,⁶ and the script in *cap sultan* coins should simply be labelled as Javanese to avoid confusion. This also applies to most of the Jambi coins examined in this paper.

1b *Picis jambi*



Figure 2 Tin coin with square central hole, found in Batanghari river. From Ade Putra collection (20 mm, 1.18 g). Obverse, narrow rim around hole and wider rim at edge. Inscription surrounding centre. Reverse plain. Interpretation: *ꦥꦶꦕꦶꦱꦗꦩꦧꦶ* 'picis jambi' (currency of Jambi) in Javanese script. Base to centre, read clockwise.

In addition to *cap sultan*, there is at least one other type of coin that bears Javanese script and clearly mentions 'Jambi'. These read *picis jambi* (figure 2). According to Ade Putra, *picis jambi* coins are rarely found compared to *cap sultan* in stretches of the Batanghari River that he had dredged. The inscription on his coin images show quite legible Javanese, with a notable oddity in the -i vowel marks (*wulu*) which are attached to the right-hand side of the base letters rather than above them, due to the constrained space. This is unlike the *cap sultan* coins which either squeeze the mark into whatever space is left above the letter or omit it altogether. Normatively, the vowel killer mark (*pangkon*) is used only at the end of words but here, as in *cap sultan* coins, it is used indiscriminately as there are no spaces available to write below-base conjuncts (*pasangan*). This seems to be the norm for Jambi coins as can be seen in other types which follow.

2 Kiai Gedé coins (1687–1719)

Sultan Kiai Gedé was the eldest son of Sultan Ingalaga (ruled 1679–89)⁷ and was the ruler of Jambi from 1687–1719. The golden age of Jambi commerce had passed by his time, with the Jambi court obliged to accept inferior status in their relationship with neighboring Palembang court. Kiai Gedé's unpopular reign was marred by loss of economic relevance and political disputes. Trade was especially hampered by prolonged and bitter feuds with his younger brother, Pangeran Pringgabaya, which necessitated interventions by the VOC and the Pagaruyung court (Andaya 1993, 132–5, 152). During these unstable times however, it seems he issued at least two

6 As was his characterization of north Indian Nāgarī script as a precursor of Javanese script. In fact, many Javanese script-related description in Mitchiner (2012) are somewhat contrived and marred with basic mistakes. The author agrees with Bhandare (2014, 7) that such basic mistakes in Mitchiner's work could have been eliminated by review from native users of the script and language in question.

7 Note that Jambi has multiple rulers with the title *-ingalaga* in its history. Andaya (1993) and Gallop (2019a) consistently use the form *ingalaga* and never note an *ingalanga* title. In Javanese *ingalaga* could be translated as 'of (ing) the battlefield (*alaga*, from root word *laga*). Meanwhile, *laga* does not have any meaning in Javanese. It seems that *ingalanga* is as mis-spelled romanization of *إنگالانگا* *ingalanga* that is unfortunately common in contemporary sources.

types of coins bearing his name, one *Sultan Gedé* in Javanese (figure 3) and the other '*Alamat Kiai Gedé*' in Arabic (figure 4).

2a *Sultan Gedé*

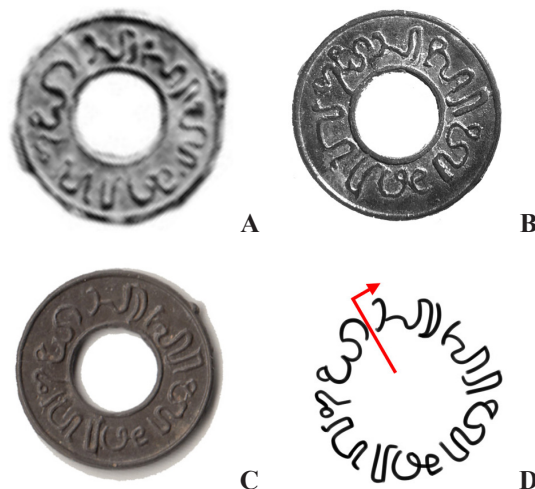


Figure 3 Tin coin with circular central hole. Obverse, narrow rim around hole and at edge, inscription surrounding centre. Reverse plain. A, Mitchiner (2012, 32, 30, 0.60 g, 18.5 mm, found in Musi river); B, Ritchie collection (0.67 g, 20.5 mm, found in Musi river); C, Ade Putra collection (0.80 g, 21 mm, found in Batanghari river); D, interpretation of the inscription, *ꦱꦸꦤ꧀ꦒꦺꦢꦺ* (*sultan gadé*, probably intended as *gedé*) in Javanese script. Base to centre, read clockwise.

Specimens (figure 3) that the author has seen shows that the Javanese script in *Sultan Gedé* coins is rather well-formed and far more legible than previous *cap sultan* and *picis jambi* coins. The only ambiguous part is the omission of the -e vowel mark (*pepet*) in the syllable [ge] of *Gedé*, making it technically *sultan gadé*. This can be easily explained by the lack of space. Still, current catalogues are prone to misread it. The coin's Zeno page reads the inscription as generic *sultan ratu*.⁸ Meanwhile, Mitchiner (2012, 32, no. 30) conflated it with other coins presumed to be inscribed with *sultan siak* (more on Siak coins below). Despite the script's appearance, the relative rarity of these coins probably reflects the economic woes of the eponymous sultan, who either did not manage to produce many, or else failed to convince his subjects to use them.

2b '*Alamat Kiai Gedé*'



Figure 4 Tin coin with circular central hole, found in Batanghari river. Obverse, narrow rim around hole and at edge, inscription surrounding centre. Reverse plain. Ade Putra collection (23 mm, 0.87 g). Interpretation of inscription, *ألامة كياي كدي* '*alamat ki'ai gedé*' ('mark of Kiai Gedé') in Arabic script. Base to edge, read clockwise.

8 <https://www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=257479>. It should be noted that 'Ratou' is an outdated romanization of *ꦱꦸꦤ꧀ꦠꦸ* *Ratu*. There is no reason why the same vowel should be romanized as [ou] in *Ratu* and [u] in *Sultan* as in Zeno and Mitchiner (2012).

3 Maharaja Batu coins (1691–1710)

Sultan Ingalaga's younger son, Pangeran Pringgabaya, refused to acknowledge Kiai Gedé's ascension to the throne and established a rival court some time before 1691 at Muara Tebo in upstream Jambi. Initially, he was able to gain the economic upper hand over his brother's downstream court and obtained the patronage from the highly esteemed Pagaruyung court of Minangkabau who bestowed upon him the title 'Sri Maharaja Batu Johan Pahlawan Syah'. Bitter feuds with his brother however would undermine his initial success and eventually alienate his crucial allies. Finally, in 1710 Pringgabaya was forcibly taken into custody by the VOC working with Kiai Gedé. Pringgabaya was then exiled to Banda where he died in 1716 (Andaya 1993, 132–5, 152). Before his exile however, he managed to issue some coins bearing the abbreviated form of his Pagaruyung title, rendered in Arabic script. So far, two basic shapes have been encountered, one with a hexagonal hole (figure 5) and the other with circular hole (figure 6). Pringgabaya does not seem to have issued Javanese script-bearing coins like Kiai Gedé.

Similar-looking specimens are recorded in Millies (1861, pl. 18, 173–6). Millies did not discuss the coins' inscriptions or issuer, although he did assign it to Jambi. Mitchiner (2012, 29) assigned Millies' specimens to Banten around the 1630s or 1640s and read the inscription as سلطان سري فغير *'sultān sri pangeran ratu'*, which seems not to be the case. Meanwhile, Bruce Griffith at Zeno (www.zeno.ru coin 246050) read it as سلطان سري مهرجا بتو *'sultān sri maharaja batu'*. Looking at various specimens documented by Millies/Mitchiner, Ade Putra and Ritchie, the author is more inclined to the *'maharaja batu'* reading, with the مهر part being particularly distinctive and somewhat stable but mistaken as dotless فغير by Mitchiner. The details however are inconsistent with various levels of letter deformations such as missing dots and misplaced appendages.

3a Sultān Sri Maharaja Batu (hexagonal hole)

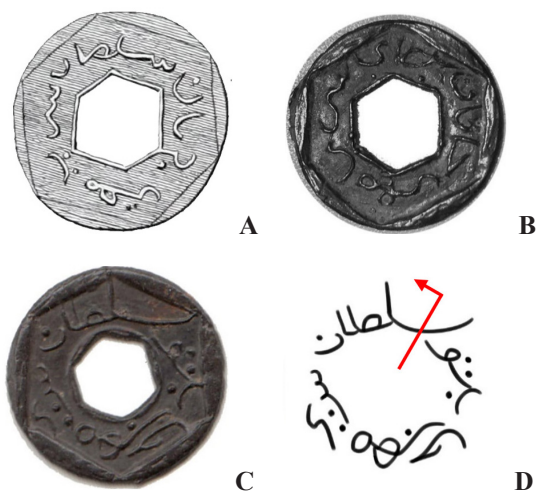


Figure 5 Tin coin with circular and hexagonal central hole. Obverse, rounded or hexagonal rim around hole, hexagonal rim at edge, inscription surrounding centre. Reverse plain. A, Millies (1861, pl. 18, 176); B, Ritchie collection (1.09 g, 22–22.2 mm, found in Musi river); C, Ade Putra collection (1.31 g, 22 mm, found in Batanghari River). Interpretation, سلطان سري مهرجا بتو *'sultān sri maharaja batu'* in Arabic script. Base to centre, read counter-clockwise.

3b Sultān Sri Maharaja Batu (circular hole)



Figure 6 Tin coin with circular central hole. Obverse, narrow rim around hole, circular or hexagonal rim at edge, inscription surrounding centre. Reverse plain. A, Millies (1861, pl. 18, no. 175); B, Millies (1861, pl. 18, no. 173); C, Ade Putra collection (weight unknown, 24 mm, found in Batanghari river). Interpretation of legend the same as figure 5.

4 Sultan Ahmat coins (undetermined date)



Figure 7 Tin coin with circular central hole, found in Batanghari river. Ade Putra collection (0.98 g, 24 mm). Obverse, narrow rim around hole and at edge, inscription surrounding centre. Reverse plain. Interpretation, سلطان (ن)اهمات *'sultan (n)ahmat'* in Javanese script. Base to centre, read clockwise.

A small number of coins Ade Putra dredged from the Batanghari river bear well-formed Javanese script that reads *'sultan ahmat'* (figure 7).⁹ Ahmat/Ahmad is a rather generic name that is incorporated in the regnal name of various Malay sultans. But since Jambi is the only place among surrounding Malay states who has a predilection for producing tin coins bearing Javanese script, it seems appropriate to only focus on Jambi monarchs for the time being. As it happens, there are at least three Jambi rulers who used 'Ahmad' in their official seals,¹⁰ احمد زين الدين سري اغلاكا Ahmad Zainuddin Anom Sri Ingalaga (1743–70?), احمد نصر الدين رتو اغلاكا Ahmad Nasiruddin Ratu Inga Dilaga (1858–81) and احمد زين الدين رتو سري اغلاكا Ahmad Zainuddin Ratu Sri Ingalaga (1886–99).

⁹ Presumably an idiosyncratic spelling of Arabic احمد, *'ahmad'*. The manner of spelling, by doubling the [na] instead of using conjunct [ha] between Sultan and Ahmat, is unusual today but not unheard of in the Javanese writing tradition. The [ta] in Sultan seems to be attached with an erroneous vowel killer (*pangkon*). The coin's Zeno page interpreted the -h diacritic (*wignyan*) as -é diacritic (*taling*) resulting in Sultan Ahmé. <https://www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=257475>

¹⁰ As recorded in Gallop (2019a, 240, 243, 244)

Table 1 Comparison of characters from the coins and the early and modern Javanese Kawi script

Mitchiner's reading	(2) <i>pa</i>	(3) <i>ngé</i>	(4) <i>ra</i>	(5) <i>n</i>	(6) <i>si</i>	(7) <i>ya</i>	(8) <i>k</i>	(1) <i>sri</i>
Author's reading	(1) <i>pa</i>	(2) <i>ngé</i>	(3) <i>rā/ra</i>	(4) <i>nra</i>	(5) <i>tu</i>	(6) <i>hing</i>	(7) <i>ja</i>	(8) <i>mbi</i>
Early Kawi 7th–10th century	𑀧	𑀭	𑀲	𑀮	𑀓	𑀓𑀲	𑀓	𑀓𑀲𑀓𑀲𑀓
Coin inscription	𑀧	𑀭𑀲	𑀲	𑀮	𑀓	𑀓𑀲	𑀓	𑀓𑀲𑀓𑀲𑀓
Modern Javanese	𑀧	𑀭𑀲	𑀲	𑀮	𑀓	𑀓𑀲	𑀓	𑀓𑀲𑀓𑀲𑀓

Looking at the economic history of Jambi, it seems possible to exclude the two later Ahmads. Since the final years of Sultan Ingalaga's (1679–89) reign, Jambi saw declining commercial activities which was further exacerbated by Ingalaga's feuding heirs. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the sultanate had become impoverished. Under Sultan Fakhruddin (ruled 1833–41), the sultanate also had to formally accept Dutch rule and provide significant economic concessions, which further strained its resources. Locher-Scholten (2003, 81–2) noted that in 1836, the Dutch colonial administration instructed Sultan Fakhruddin to halt his imports of copper coins from Singapore.¹¹ Fakhruddin complied, saying that he would willingly halt such imports, admit only Dutch currency to Muara Kompeh, and promote its circulation in other parts of his realm. This account suggests that by Fakhruddin's time Jambi no longer produced its own currency. Judging by Jambi's economic languishment which persisted after Fakhruddin, the Sultan Ahmat coins could be issued by the only Ahmad whose reign predated Fakhruddin: Ahmad Zainuddin Anom Sri Ingalaga. However, due to the multiple appellations that a ruler might accrue over a lifetime, the list of possibilities may be longer than suggested here.

Siak

In current numismatic literature, it seems that the Siak region of Sumatra is treated like an odd-sock drawer to which various hard-to-read coins are consigned. Most attributions have relied on speculative readings of rather crude inscriptions, and the inscription in question either has an almost illegible 'Siak' or more generic words that do not necessarily point to Siak. Millies (1861) noted one type of Siak coin bearing Javanese script which reads '*sultan siak*' in corrupted letters.¹² However, specimens shown in his plate are very poor and lack enough clarity to justify his reading. Due to his ambiguous samples, it seems that unrelated finds are prone to be associated with Millies' Sultan Siak. Such was the case for Mitchiner's study (2012, 31–2), which further attributed a number of coins to Siak from a period between the 1600s and 1640s. At the time parts of Siak were either an unassociated region or a vassal of the Johor Sultanate, as the polity officially named 'Sultanate of Siak' was only founded in 1722.¹³

¹¹ It is possible the copper coins meant here were Singapore merchant tokens.

¹² Millies (1861, 107) transcribed the inscription as 𑀭𑀲𑀓𑀲𑀓𑀲𑀓 '*sulatana siyaka*'.

¹³ So far, no coins have been attributed to the actual sultanate of Siak. The only coin with unambiguous 'Siak' inscription is a type of Singapore merchant tokens produced by British merchants unaffiliated with the eponymous region. See Singh (1986, 445–9, 473).

In a similar vein to Millies, Mitchiner identified the script in all Siak coins as 'Sumatran-Javanese script.' This is a rather puzzling identification that should have been examined more thoroughly, as it is not obvious why would Siak used Javanese script in the first place. Mitchiner (2012, 31) only deferred to Millies' (1871, 107) statement that Javanese script was used in Sumatra until the late seventeenth century. This is true for Jambi as we have seen, but this is not applicable to the whole of Sumatra and Millies' assumption of Javanese script in Siak is questionable. The author could not find attested use of Javanese script in Siak or any historical background that might explain why Siak polities would inscribe their coins in Javanese. Further, Goudie (1976, 22–4) noted that throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the sultan of Johor stationed a *syahbandar* (harbour master) to rule in Johor's name at Bengkalis, a town at the mouth of Siak river. Was it possible for the region of Siak, not yet emerged as an independent sultanate, watched over by officials from the then dominant Johor, and having no obvious ties with Javanese polities, to issue a coin that says *sultan siak* in Javanese script? Giving the benefit of the doubt that this is possible, and that the reasoning has been lost to history, the author still has some reservation againsts the reading of all coins in Mitchiner's study as Siak issues. Thus, the author here shall give alternative readings for each.

5 Pangeran Ratu ing Jambi coins (undetermined date)

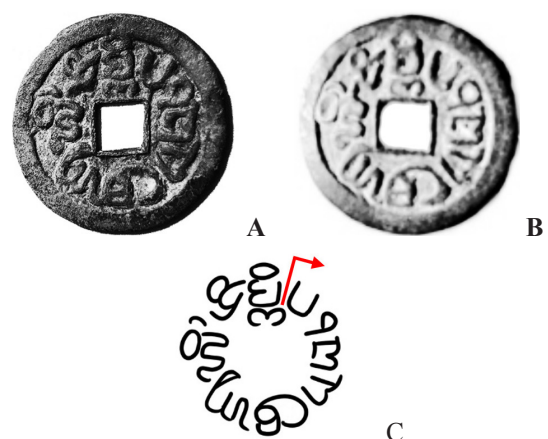


Figure 8 Tin-lead alloy (possibly with copper) coin with square central hole. Obverse, narrow rim around circular central hole and distinct, wider rim at edge, inscription surrounding central hole.

Reverse, indistinct rim at edge, similar width to obverse.

A, Ritchie collection (3.24 g, 26.4–27.1 mm, found in Musi river); B, Mitchiner (2012, 31, no. 21 (3.61 g, 27 mm, found in Musi river) Interpretation, 𑀭𑀲𑀓𑀲𑀓𑀲𑀓𑀲𑀓 '*pangéran ratu (h)ing jambi*' (the Pangéran Ratu in Jambi) in late Kawi script. Base to centre, read clockwise.

Table 2 Proposed interpretation of inscription of coins in figure 9, *pangéran adipati* in Javanese script

Mitchiner's reading	(3) <i>tan</i>		(4) <i>si</i>		(5) <i>ya</i>	(6) <i>k</i>	(1) <i>su</i>	(2) <i>l</i>
Author's reading	(1) <i>pa</i>	(2) <i>ngé</i>	(3) <i>ra</i>	(4) <i>n</i>	(5) <i>(h)a</i>	(6) <i>di</i>	(7) <i>pa</i>	(8) <i>ti</i>
Standard printed Javanese	𑊘	𑊚𑊛	𑊚	𑊚𑊛	𑊚	𑊚𑊛	𑊚	𑊚𑊛
Reconstructed handwritten Javanese	𑊘	𑊚𑊛	𑊚	𑊚𑊛	𑊚	𑊚𑊛	𑊚	𑊚𑊛
Coin A, Ade Putra's specimen	𑊘	𑊚𑊛	𑊚	𑊚𑊛	𑊚	𑊚𑊛 (da)	𑊚	𑊚𑊛 (ta)
Coin B, Ade Putra's specimen	𑊘	𑊚𑊛	𑊚	𑊚𑊛 (na)	𑊚	𑊚𑊛 (da)	𑊚	𑊚𑊛 (ta)
Coin C, Mitchiner's specimen	𑊘	𑊚𑊛	𑊚	𑊚𑊛	𑊚	𑊚𑊛 (da)	𑊚	𑊚𑊛 (ta)

Compared to the coins discussed so far, this type is quite unusual in having heavier weight, comparatively better casting quality, and suspected copper content. All samples recorded by Mitchiner (2012, 31) were found in the Musi River, but Ade Putra reported that it can also be found in Jambi's Batanghari River. The identification of this coin has been discussed by the author in Perdana (2022). Mitchiner identified the coins' inscription as 'Sumatran Javanese' and read it as *Sri Pangéran Siak*, but it is difficult to reconcile this reading with the coins' letterforms. Instead of Javanese script, the inscription seems to show transitional qualities between early modern Javanese and late Kawi,¹⁴ a historical script widely used in insular Southeast Asia between the eighth and the sixteenth century (see table 1). Further inspection indeed shows reasonable similarities with late Kawi materials found within the vicinity of the Malacca straits and Jambi itself. These include the *Nītisārasamuccaya*¹⁵ manuscript in Jambi (dated 1379–1387 CE),¹⁶ Minye Tujoh inscription in Aceh (dated 1380 CE),¹⁷ as well as the Ahmat Majanu tombstone in Pangkalan Kempas (dated 1467 CE).¹⁸ Read through proper Kawi/Javanese conventions, the inscription can be more clearly read as *pangéran ratu hing Jambi* "the *Pangéran Ratu* in Jambi." Suffice to say that clear mention of "Jambi" and stylistic similarities with local Kawi artefact makes Jambi a more plausible source than Siak.

6 Pangéran Adipati coins (undetermined date)

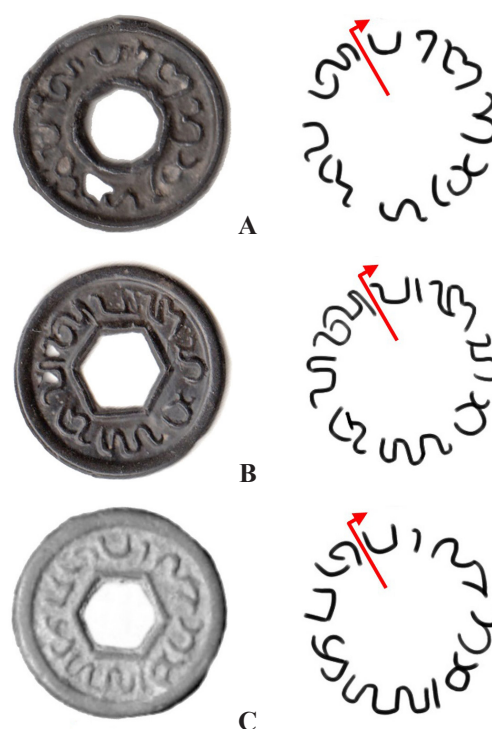


Figure 9 Tin coins with circular (somewhat octagonal) and hexagonal central hole. Obverse, narrow rim around central hole and distinct, wider rim at edge, suspected to have the same type of inscription surrounding central hole. Reverse plain
A, Ade Putra collection (2.33 g, 26 mm, found in Batanghari river);
B, Ade Putra collection (2.50 g, 26 mm, found in Batanghari river);
C, Mitchiner (2012, 31, no. 26, 2.51 g, 26 mm, found in Musi river).
For interpretation see table 2.

14 See Perdana and Nurwansah (2020) for an overview of the script.

15 Otherwise known as the Tanjung Tanah Manuscript, based on the location of its custodian when it was described by Petrus Voorhoeve in 1941. The manuscript in fact was still held in the same location by 2002, in Tanjung Tanah Village, Kerinci Regency, Jambi Province, Indonesia.

16 The *Nītisārasamuccaya*'s inscribed date has faded, but its age range was able to be narrowed through carbon dating and partial reading offered by Thomas Hunter (Kozok et al. 2015, 300).

17 The Minye Tujoh has two inscribed Hijri year, 781 HE and 791 HE, the latter of which is thought to be an error (Kozok et al. 2015, 162–6, Molen 2007)

18 The inscribed year is 872 HE (Casparis 1980, 53)

According to Ade Putra, this coin is among those most commonly found in the Batanghari river and Mitchiner's study shows that they can also be found in the Musi river. The inscription, which seems to be corrupted Javanese, is not easy to read. Mitchiner parsed it as *sultan siak*, but similar to previous Sri Sultan Siak coin, the author finds this reading difficult to reconcile with the coins' letterforms. The author examined some of the coins Ade Putra has dredged from the Batanghari river in the hope of finding coins with more legible inscriptions that might have served as the uncorrupted prototype of Sultan Siak. As it happens, two coins stood out to

Table 3 Proposed re-readings of Jambi coins formerly attributed to Siak and Banten

	<i>Millies (1861)</i>		<i>Mitchiner (2012)</i>		<i>Zeno</i>		<i>Author's</i>	
	<i>reading</i>	<i>attribution</i>	<i>reading</i>	<i>attribution</i>	<i>reading</i>	<i>attribution</i>	<i>reading</i>	<i>attribution</i>
1a	Cap Sultan	Jambi	Cap Sultan	Jambi	Cap Sultan	Jambi	Cap Sultan	Jambi
	Jambi		Jambi					
1b	—	—	—	—	Picis Jambi	Jambi	Picis Jambi	Jambi
2a	—	—	Sultan Siak	Siak	Sultan Ratu	Jambi	Sultan Geḍé	Jambi
2b	—	—	—	—	Kiai Gede	Jambi	‘Alamat Kiya’i Gedé	Jambi
3a	—	Jambi	Sultan Sri Pangeran Ratu	Banten	Sultan Sri Maharaja Batu	Jambi	Sulṭan Sri Maharaja Batu	Jambi
3b	—	Jambi	Sultan Sri Pangeran Ratu	Banten	Sultan Sri Maharaja Batu	Jambi	Sulṭan Sri Maharaja Batu	Jambi
4	—	—	—	—	Sultan Ahmet	Jambi	Sultan Ahmat	uncertain
5	—	—	Sri Pangeran Siak	Siak	Sri Pangeran Siak	Siak	Pangéran Ratu ing Jambi	Jambi
6	—	—	Sultan Siak	Siak	Sultan Siak	Siak	Pangéran Adipati	uncertain

the author. Their Javanese inscriptions, which reads *pangéran (h)adapata*, are slightly deformed but still legible. This reading does not make sense but considering the numerous Javanese-bearing Jambi coins which frequently omit above-base diacritics, the inscription could mean *pangéran adipati*, a common title in the Malay Archipelago. These coins may have served as the prototype of the so-called Sultan Siak coin, as can be seen in figure 9 and table 2.

The *pangeran* and *adipati* titles are used in several (but not all) Malay states, and each can be used on its own or in combination with other names. It is not clear if the title is customary in Siak as the author has not found reference to it in scholarly accounts of Siak. On the other hand, Jambi and Palembang have records of various *pangeran adipati* such as Jambi's Pangeran Dipati Anom (ruled 1679–87 as Sultan Abdul Muhyi) and Palembang's Pangeran Adipati (son of Sultan Muhammad Bahauddin who ruled 1775–1803). So far, only Jambi has a clear track record of producing Javanese bearing coins, and so it is plausible that this 'Siak' coin is yet another Jambi issue. But due to the generic nature of the inscription, further study is needed to ascertain their origin.

Summary

Table 3 summarizes the author's reading suggestions. These new readings particularly affect existing attribution of coins to Siak, most of which are premature in the author's opinion. The author proposes that all of the 'Siak' coins inscribed with Javanese script should either be reattributed to Jambi or left as uncertain, pending future studies. These reattributions also suggest that the Jambi sultanate was a rather prolific issuer of coins that was on par with the neighboring Palembang sultanate; the difference being that coins of the latter have seen more study and cataloguing efforts compared to the former.

Acknowledgement

The author would like to thank Ade Putra from Jambi who has kindly share his documentation and findings from the Batanghari river. The author also thanks J. Mark Ritchie for his inputs to the content and writing of this paper.

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Aditya Bayu Perdana is a lecturer currently employed in Telkom University, Bandung, Indonesia. He is also a typographer interested in traditional Indonesian scripts and their historic application in the materials of everyday life, from magazines to currencies.

ONS news

Annual General Meeting

The Annual General Meeting of the Society will be held on Saturday 10 June at 4 p.m. BST.

The Michael Broome Memorial Lecture will be delivered by the Society's Deputy Secretary-General and former Keeper of Coins at the British Museum, Joe Cribb. His topic will be *Coins in the Islamic World*. The meeting will be held at a place still to be determined and will also be webcast on Zoom, with the link for remote attendance to be sent by email in due course.

Quarterly lectures

The inaugural talk for our new quarterly lecture series took place on 21 January. Robert Wicks spoke on *Beyond Modern Boundaries: The Ancient Coinage of Mainland Southeast Asia* and the presentation is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bOxSjHd3No>

The next speaker in the lecture series, to be held on Saturday 15 April at 4 p.m. EST, is Danish Moin, head of the Department of History at Maulana Azad National Urdu University. His topic is *Islamic Calligraphy on Medieval Indian Coins: An Artistic Perspective*. This meeting is on Zoom only; the link to attend will be sent in due course by the regional secretaries.

From the Regional Secretaries

Europe

Sebastian Hanstein has called for papers for the 2023 regional ONS conference on Islamic numismatics organized by the Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik Tübingen (FINT) will take place as an in-person only event on 6–7 May (Saturday to Sunday).

Patrick Pasmans

UK and Eire

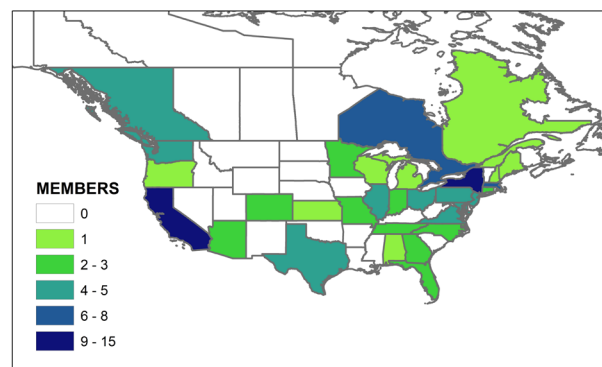
There will be a meeting of the ONS in Oxford, at the Ashmolean Museum, on Saturday 13 May from 11 a.m.–4 p.m. BST. Speakers and titles of talks to be announced in due course.

Helen Wang

North America

The ONS North America region met on 14 January 2023 in a hybrid event, held virtually on Zoom and with an in-person session held in conjunction with the New York International Numismatic Convention.

Michael Connor, regional secretary for North America, kicked off the meeting with his state of the region report.



Distribution of ONS members across North America

The initial transition from the prior regional secretary turned out to be challenging because of recent changes in banking and other laws. To remedy this, we formed a public benefit corporation with the aim of gaining federally recognized non-profit status for ONS in the USA. This will both help smooth future transitions and also mean that ONS can accept tax-deductible donations.

The North America Region has 114 members and is the second largest of the 6 regions after Europe. Membership is spread across the continent with members in 28 states and 3 Canadian provinces. California and New York have the largest numbers; California has 15 and New York 13.

Our continent-wide membership limits our ability to hold regular meetings in-person but fortunately Zoom has enabled all our members to attend meetings as they wish.

As an additional way of allowing our members to interact with each other, we established ONS-L. ONS-L is a discussion and information list for members of the Society. ONS-L provides a simple way for ONS members to interact, to make announcements, and to discuss Asiatic coins, books, and all aspects of oriental numismatics. All ONS members are welcome to join. There is a link to join ONS-L on the Society website or send an email to the regional secretary.

The regional secretary submitted comments on the US State Department's proposed MOUs with Pakistan and Uzbekistan defending ONS members' interests in the coins of the area.

The regional secretary then introduced the three speakers for the meeting.

John Deyell *A Uniface Indo-Sasanian Coin Reveals Ancient Minting Techniques*



Uniface Gadhaiya silver dramma, 3.77 grams, 18.6 x 17 mm.

Summary As error collectors will tell you, badly struck coins can reveal a lot about minting processes. One such early medieval coin was discussed, an apparently uniface Gadhaiya silver dramma. The error shows that in India the ancient Hellenic minting conventions survived until the tenth century.

The presentation is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MoVRGb3uKcw>

Pankaj Tandon *Metal Analysis of Gupta Gold Coins*

Summary XRF (x-ray fluorescence)-based estimates of the main metal composition of 363 Gupta gold coins show that there was a declining trend in the percentage of gold in the coins throughout the Gupta period. However, as we know from earlier work, the weights of Gupta gold coins had a rising trend throughout the period. So, what was happening to the actual gold content in the coins? From this sample we see that, during a major part of the Gupta period stretching from Candragupta II to Candragupta III, the actual gold content declined. The result is statistically significant and perhaps indicates an increasing stress faced by the Guptas as their kingdom came under assault. After the reforms of Skandagupta, the actual gold content of the Gupta dinar jumped to a level higher than it had ever been before. Why Skandagupta pursued this monetary policy remains an open question, as does the puzzle that the weights of the coins increased over time. Turning to the other major metals, silver and copper, their percentage was of course increasing as the percentage of gold decreased. We find that the increasing average silver to copper ratio was 73.5 to 26.5, very close to the eutectic ratio of 72 to 28. The eutectic ratio is the one at which the melting point of the alloy is at a minimum. The fact that the Gupta data is so close to this suggests a high level of sophistication in Gupta metallurgy. The presentation is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6WNJEtqGrBo>

Michael Bates *The Earliest Muslim Coinage of Iran*



Drahm of ART (Ardashir-Khurra) mint AH 23 (654 CE) with bismillah (CNG 372 lot 571)

Summary It is obvious that Iranian coinage after 651 CE retains all the features of its coinage under the Sasanians, with the addition of an Arabic inscription on the previously blank margin of the obverse. But is the coinage actually continuous?

Coins naming Yazdgard III, the last emperor, were minted with dates up to 20, his last regnal year and the year he was killed. There are a number of surviving coins with the date '20' and a brief Arabic inscription, often read *jayyid* ('valid'), but this group, on examination, breaks down into several different categories by inscription and style. It seems to be more a group of 'imitations', that is, coinages without official sanction from more than one place and time, using the date twenty only to reassure the users. The dates 21 and 23 as written in Middle Persian are similar, but on careful examination no coins dated 21 have been found; there are only two dissimilar drachms with a date 22, to be confirmed; and as for possible Hijra dated issues, while 31 is the equivalent of Yazdgard era 20, the rather common coins with that date seem to fit into a group of coins that end with the Yazdgard date 31, corresponding to 42 Hijra era. There are no examples of coins from any mint with the same style and details both without and with Arabic, as if minters merely modified their dies and continued on. It is only with the year 23 that we have the beginning of a regular bilingual coinage, continuing into 24, that can be confidently accepted as to date, corresponding to years 33–34 Hijra era, 653–55 CE, from various mints in southwestern Iran, that can be accepted as the earliest Muslim coins.

The presentation is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zRCFP4g3B6E>

Many thanks to our speakers and to Ed Snible who graciously acted as the local host in New York and edited the videos.

If you want more information on ONS activities in North America or are interested helping in any aspects of our work, please email Michael Connor at onsnorthamerica@gmail.com.

Michael J. Connor, North America

Obituary

Mahesh A. Kalra 20 May 1973–18 October 2022

We are very sorry to report that Dr Mahesh Kalra, who served as the ONS Regional Secretary for South Asia from 2014 to 2018, died suddenly in Kolkata on 18 October 2022. His tenure as Regional Secretary saw ONS membership in the region rise dramatically and there was a very active series of meetings all over India. His friend

Mahesh's friend Rukmini Dahanukar remembers him

My first introduction to Dr Mahesh Kalra was over the phone in August 2019 by Joe Cribb, former Keeper of Coins at the British Museum. Mahesh had just curated and successfully setup the Reserve Bank Museum in Kolkata, India.

Three months later in December 2019, I met him personally for the first time in Mumbai and was welcomed with a warm smile as though we had known each other for a long time. He immediately struck me as friendly, helpful and supportive. He had many facets to his personality and also his career. He started off as a doctor in homeopathic medicine and then followed his heart into the rich field of numismatics. In 2018 he achieved a doctorate in numismatics from the University of Mumbai, focusing on Mughal coins from the Deccan. He held various numismatic positions, listed here.



Mahesh during his time on the International Training Programme at the British Museum 2013, presenting his display on Mughal coins.

Director of the Centre for Numismatic Information & Studies (CENNUMIS) (2021–2)

Visiting Faculty, Part-time, Somaiya Institute for Dharma Studies, Mumbai (2021–2)

Visiting Faculty, Numismatics, at the University of Mumbai (2011–22)

Curator, Reserve Bank of India, Kolkata (2018–21)

Regional Secretary, South Asia, Oriental Numismatic Society (2014–18)

Curator, Numismatics, at The Asiatic Society of Mumbai (2015–18)

Correspondent, DNA India in the Mumbai area (2016–17)

Asst. Professor & Numismatic Curator at the Dinesh Mody Institute for Numismatics, Mumbai (2011–14)

In 2013 he was invited to join the six-week long British Museum's International Training Programme and was much appreciated by everyone on the course. He was also awarded the International Scholarship for Doctoral Research (2015) with a residency award of three months at Berlin Museum and other German institutions. In 2014–15 he awarded was the Nicholas Lowick Memorial Fellowship of the Royal Numismatic Society enabling him to do research in UK museums. In 2018 he co-edited and contributed to the volume *Recent Researches in Epigraphy and Numismatics* New Delhi: Om Publications. He also wrote several articles which can be seen on his Academia.edu page <https://rbi.academia.edu/MaheshKalra>

Mahesh was easy-going and very approachable, always eager to help and connect various academicians, scholars, researchers and collectors. His passion for the subject of numismatics is clearly reflected in his various positions and roles.

We shared quite a few conversations about numismatics and notaphily being part of a larger curriculum at the university level. His enthusiasm and passion were contagious as was his warm smile.

Mahesh's sister Kanchan Lopez commented

Mahesh was my elder brother and a very protective one. He was a warm, affectionate and good human being. He taught me so much. He was a beautiful flower who bloomed in the world and has now left a beautiful fragrance in my life and for all who knew him. I will always hold him in my heart.

To learn more about Mahesh's work follow these links:

<https://www.telegraphindia.com/edugraph/career/how-to-make-a-career-in-museum-curation-advice-from-numismatist-mahesh-kalra/cid/1840553>

<https://www.youtube.com/c/MaheshKalraONS>

<https://www.bmitpglobalnetwork.org/2022/10/20/mahesh-kalra-india-itp-fellow-2013/?pg=75>

<https://twitter.com/mckalra>

Mahesh will always be remembered for his various contributions to the field of numismatics.

Book reviews and notices

Reviews

Kris Van den Cruyce *The Large Tin and Lead Coins of Lower Burma (including the Tenasserim Region) from the 14th to the 19th Century*

Flanders, Diestse Studiekkring voor Numismatiek 2023, hardback, 169 pages, ISBN 9789090289458

In *JONS* 243 (Spring 2021) an article by S. K. Bose and Nirupam Khanikar, 'The first Burmese coin hoard outside Burma', discussed a hoard of 31 tin coins found in Sibsagar, Assam, India. It was the first article in *JONS* on these coins since Michael Robinson wrote his book *The Lead and Tin coins of Pegu and Tenasserim* in 1984.

Recently I obtained a new book by Kris Van den Cruyce, author of a catalogue of Bhutanese coins in 2015, regarding these large tin and lead coins of Burma. With the article of

Bose and Khanikar in mind I started to read the book with great eagerness.

The region concerned, Lower Burma, is quite interesting from an historical point of view since it played an important role in Southeast Asian trading routes and in the maritime silk route. Several cities on the coast of the Andaman Sea served as transit ports to bring the goods overland in about 20 days to Thailand (Siam) and further on to China, thus avoiding delays (such a piracy, or a lack of wind) in the Malacca Strait. The province of Tenasserim, part of lower Burma, was a part of Siam for several centuries. The author states that the coins from there played a role as trade money in this context.

The book discusses very briefly the various cities that have played a role some time in history and includes an overview of what travellers, including missionaries, have written about these coins when visiting Lower Burma. The

first time these coins were mentioned was in about 1512 by Tomé Pires.

The author also gives an overview of the various animals appearing on the coins and taught me that the snake appearing on many of them is a *nāga*, half human, half serpent, and not a dragon, as the animal is described in most auction catalogues. In general the book provides the broader context of the coins, making it much more than a simple illustrated catalogue. It certainly gave me a better understanding of how these trade coins were used.

Although the coins appear more often in auctions nowadays, they are, generally speaking, rather rare. The author studied 250 pieces, which is the largest study done to date, and included more than 130 pictures in his book. One of the most amazing facts is that these trade coins are huge, having a diameter between 5 and 8 centimetres, and weighing from about 30 up to 535 grams.

They are catalogued in nine groups, each consisting of several types, varieties and mould-varieties (the coins were cast, not hammered). Since the coins do not have a date or place of issue, they are organized by their visual aspects and weight. Having said that, one particular coin seems to bear the date of 1399 or 1400 CE, allowing us to date these trade coins as early as the fourteenth century. Groups are dedicated variously, e.g. to the *nāga*, the mystical Tò (unicorn) and the city of Dawei. A special group includes coins having most likely a Chinese origin, many of them being very attractive pieces. They have Chinese characters on the obverse and a square in the middle on the reverse, which presumably echoes the square hole in Chinese cash coins. The existence of these coins is not surprising, given the strong presence of Chinese (traders) in the various cities.

Robinson's book studied 80 examples of these coins, so this new book by Kris Van den Cruyce is an important step forward, as it also includes results of recent archaeological findings. Very useful also is the inclusion of a drawing for each coin type, often a composite image using several examples where examples with the full design were not available. For each type one can also see how many coins were studied.

The book can be ordered by contacting Patrick Pasmans (patrick.pasmans@hotmail.com), secretary of ONS Europe or Kris Van den Cruyce at vercrosse.coins@gmail.com.

Price for ONS members is €19 + shipping which within Europe is between €14 and €20 without tracking, depending on the country. Worldwide it is between €29 and €35, depending on whether tracking is required.

Wolfgang Bertsch
Former member, ONS

Saran Singh Sidhu and Dalwinder Sidhu *Coins of the Sikh Empire, Punjab and the Cis-Sutlej States: Sikh religious tokens*

London, Spink and Son Ltd
2022, hardback, illustrated in colour throughout, xl + 566 pages, ISBN 9781912667802, £75 from the publisher

This book is a comprehensive and detailed study of Sikh coins produced from the very beginnings of the Sikh faith

in the fifteenth century up to and including present-day commemorative coins and tokens. In the preface the authors provide a useful literature review of existing books on the topic of Sikh coins for serious collectors and enthusiasts. In addition to providing an introduction to the topic, the book is aimed at an audience with some prior knowledge of Sikh coins as several numismatic terms and Punjabi words are not translated.

A thorough history of the rise and fall of the Sikh empire is outlined in the introduction along with a narrative of the Cis-Sutlej states. The historical context is very informative, though it lacks relevant references and footnotes. At times the text is repeated in different sections of the book and the English is slightly clumsy. Several clear images are depicted for each coin type listed throughout the book, including hand-drawn illustrations to represent coins that are not present in known collections. This makes it an important tool for coin identification. In addition to the main coin types the catalogue highlights various peripheral types and includes tokens, commemorative and religious medals. There is also a dedicated section on coins from the Cis-Sutlej states, an area which is often overlooked in other books on Sikh coins. Many unpublished and previously unlisted coins are presented in this section, which serves as a useful guide to the subject.

There are several colour maps in this book that help the reader to learn about towns occupied by the Sikh empire and the mints that produced the coins. There are also reference tables at the beginning of the book that compare coins from different mints across various collections such as those from museums, personal collections and coins sold recently at auction houses. The early chapters are divided by denomination and include detailed descriptions and explanatory notes for the coins featured. The inscriptions are accurately transcribed, translated and transliterated, and symbols are clearly highlighted and explained. Images also include magnified details from the coin flans and dissection diagrams for further understanding of the legends. This work is slightly advanced for complete beginners, but it is an excellent resource for scholars, collectors and numismatic professionals.

The book contains an interesting chapter on unusual religious tokens and presentation pieces and also covers paper money produced during British rule in India. At times the book is chronologically confusing as items are grouped by type. Towards the end of the book many miscellaneous objects are featured such as brass plates and contemporary badges and receipts from places of pilgrimage which are somewhat out of context. The appendix contains very helpful tools including a diagram of coin inscriptions and how to read them, information on the coin striking process and advice on how to clean and handle coins. Overall this is a very important and comprehensive resource for the study of Sikh coins and related items.

Paramdip Khara
ONS member, British Library

Book notices

David Jeselsohn and Aram Vardanyan *The Jeselsohn Collection of Coins of the Holy Land* vol. 4, *Islamic and Crusader Coinage* Jerusalem, Yad Ben-Zvi Press 2022, hardback, 320 pages, colour illustrations ISBN 978965217454-3

Volume 4 of the series dealing with the publication and scientific presentation of the David and Jemima Jeselsohn collection of coins of the Holy Land is devoted to the Islamic and Crusader coinage struck in medieval Palestine and Transjordan from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries CE. It includes some 746 gold, silver, bronze coins and lead seals issued by Islamic dynasties such as the Umayyads, 'Abbasids, Tulunids, Ikhshidids, Carmathians, Fatimids and by the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. The book also offers both a thorough historic and numismatic discussion on the circumstances of striking coins in the region in different historical epochs. The extensive catalogue includes many rare and hitherto unpublished specimens, as for example the only known Fatimid gold dinar struck in al-Ramla in AH 440 (1048/9 CE). The reader will also find many other coins reflecting the activities of the mints Filastin, al-Ramla, Tabariya, 'Akka, 'Asqalan, Adhra'at, Ludd, Baysan, Bayt Jabrin, Jerash, Iliya, al-Quds, Ghazza, Yubna, Nablus, Saffuriya, Qaysariya, all located in the cities that constituted the junds (military districts) of Filastin and al-Urdunn.

The table of contents can be found at https://www.academia.edu/91640403/Jeselsohn_Collection_of_Coins_of_the_Holy_Land_vol_4_Islamic_and_Crusader_Coinage

You can purchase this book for NIS 179.00 (about €55) directly from the publisher's shop at <https://www.ybz.org.il/?CategoryID=1382&ArticleID=8467#.Y7zq6HZByM8> email bookstore@ybz.org.il

Fethi Furkan Yirikoğulları *Bursa Müze Müdürlüğü'nde Bulunan Orhan Gazi Sikkeleri* [*Coins of Orhan Gazi at the Bursa Museum Directorate*], Yeditepe Akademi 2022, paperback, 72 pages, ISBN 9786257477949

The rarity of other historical sources belonging to Orhan Gazi period, gives coins great importance. These coins have been the subject of discussion in every period since Ottoman times. Orhan Gazi's coins have very different types and die variations. In addition to these, it can be said that Orhan Bey's coins have an exceptional place in the numismatics, owing to the existence of imitation coins, problems about counterfeits and anonymous coins attributed to him. For this reason, the publication of Orhan Gazi coins in the Bursa Museum Directorate is important as it will help to illuminate the still unsolved issues. In this study 83 coins belonging to Orhan Gazi, and which are thought to have belonged to him, in the

inventory of the Bursa Museum Directorate were cataloged and evaluated. Among the known types, there are two unique coins. Although one of them has been published before, it has a clearer photograph in this study. The other has never been published. The author explains that, for reasons beyond his control, the study had to be published before it was finalized, but he hopes to work on it and add to it in the future.

Numismatique Asiatique

We have not reported the contents of this bilingual French–English journal for a while, so here are the main articles from the two latest issues.

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Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society

251 Spring 2023

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